ARTAVALLABHA MAHANTI MEMORIAL LECTURES

(FIRST SERIES, 1964)

THE PEOPLE, LANGUAGE AND CULTURE OF ORISSA

by

SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI

National Professor of India in Humanities



ORISSA SAHITYA AKADEMI

BHUBANESWAR, 1966.

ARTAVALLABHA MAHANTI MEMORIAL LECTURES

(*FIRST SERIES*, 1964)

THE PEOPLE, LANGUAGE AND CULTURE OF ORISSA

by

SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI
National Professor of India in Humanities



ORISSA SAHITYA AKADEMI
BHUBANESWAR, 1966.

First Edition, 1966

Published by the
Orissa Sahitya Akademi
Bhubaneswar.

Printed by
Manmatha Nath Pan
K. M. Press,
1/1 Dinabandhu Lane,
Calcutta-6

Unbound—Rs. 6·00
Bound—Rs. 7·50



Prof. Dr. Artavallabha Mohanti

Born-11.8.1887 Died-30.9.1963

FOREWORD

I have great pleasure in presenting the *Artavallabha Mahanti Memorial Lectures* delivered by Dr. S. K. Chatterji, National Professor of India, to the readers in general, as well as to those interested in the culture of Orissa. These lectures were arranged by the Orissa Sahitya Akademi to perpetuate the memory of late Dr. Artavallabha Mahanti, Professor of Oriya and Sanskrit, Ravenshaw College, Cuttack, Orissa, whose contributions to the study of the Oriya language and Oriya literature have received wide appreciation all over the country and have won for him profound admiration from scholars belonging to the fields of language, literature and Indology. This is the first series of lectures delivered in 1964, and it is only in the fitness of things that Dr. Chatterji, who had close association with the late Dr. Mahanti for several years past, should have been invited to deliver the first series of lectures. It is hoped that these three lectures that constitute this little volume will throw a flood of light on Orissan Culture in as much as they are from the pen of one of the most celebrated scholars of India.

Bhubaneswar,
the 15th July, 1966.

S. K. Sahu
President,
Orissa Sahitya Akademi.

CONTENTS

PREFACE

While offering a personal tribute to the memory of my most esteemed friend, the late Professor Artavallabha Mahanti of Orissa, I thought it would be a suitable occasion to place on record some of my views about the origins of the Oriya people and the early history of the Oriya language, together with a consideration of the outstanding cultural contributions of Orissa in giving a finished picture of Indian civilisation and culture in its entirety. I have tried to treat in a similar way the contribution of the sister-state of Assam to Indian civilisation as a whole ("The Place of Assam in the History and Civilisation of India": Banikanta Kakati Memorial Lectures, delivered before the University of Gauhati in 1954, published by the University in 1955). There are certain basic points of agreement between the cultures of Orissa, Bengal and Assam, particularly when we have to note that Assamese, Bengali and Oriya were virtually one language about a thousand years ago.

Another little work of mine on the Culture of Manipur, which is so closely linked with Assam and Bengal, is now printing (my "Pandita-raja Atombapu Sarma Memorial Lectures", delivered at Imphal in Manipur in February-March 1965).

These three books, together with my other monograph—"Kirata-Jana-Kṛti : the Indo-Mongoloids, their Contribution to the History and Culture of India", published by the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, 1951, will give my particular interpretation of certain aspects of the origins and early development of culture in Eastern India. In a wider context, my Kamala Lectures (delivered before the Universities of Calcutta and Visva-Bharati—"Indianism and the Indian Synthesis"—Calcutta University Press, 1962) seek to give similarly an *ensemble* view of the general outlines of the origins of Indian Civilisation and of the Indian Way of Thinking and the Indian Way of Living. I may further mention my most recent publication, "Dravidian", on Dravidian Origins and on Modern Dravidian Literature (lectures delivered before Annamalai

University in Feburary 1963, and published by the Annamalai University, Madras State, 1965), which presents an attempt to trace the lines of Integraticn of Dravidian and Aryan Cultures into a single Indian Culture.

I am very grateful to my friends in Orissa—particularly the *Orissa Sahitya Akademi*—for honouring me by inviting me to deliver the first series of the Artavallabha Mahanti Memorial Lectures and so enabling me to put my ideas in writing. India is a single unit when we consider its basic Culture, besides its Geography, History and Economy. Diversities of race and language are there, and instead of bringing about exclusiveness, the genius of the creators of Indian Civilisation, of the Indian Way of Life, has succeeded in integrating them into a single unit. Even some of the most unsympathetic critics of India have admitted this Basic Unity of Culture in the sub-continent of India throughout the entire land, including all the Three Independent Countries of India, Pakistan and Nepal, from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin and from Burma to Afghanistan and Iran.

Bengal and Orissa are closely knit with each other, although Orissa still has a large population speaking pre-Aryan languages. But the situation in Bengal also was very similar some centuries ago. All the pre-Aryan peoples of Bengal—whether Austric or Dravidian or Mongoloid—were put in the melting pot, together with the Aryan-speakers who were last in the field. But it was the organisation and discipline of the Brahmans and other thought-leaders, and the political or ruling sections as well as the merchants and the artisan classes, and, above all, the Aryan language, which finalised and gave its special character to this unique integration in the history of man.

The Bengali, Oriya and Assamese languages are very closely related to each other. Several hundred years ago they were just like close dialects of the same speech. Certain habits of pronunciation, which gradually came to characterise Assamese, have made spoken Assamese (not the written language) a little difficult to comprehend for Oriyas and Bengalis. But Oriya and Bengali are still to a very large extent mutually

intelligible. The oldest *literary* remains of the earlier speech of Eastern India—within the Magadha area—comprising the six speeches of the East, namely, Bhojpuri (with Sadani), Maithili and Magahi on the one hand, and Oriya, Bengali and Assamese on the other, are to be found in the *Caryā-pada* lyrics, which are songs of a mystic character, pertaining to the late Mahayana Vajrayana cult. These were discovered by Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. Haraprasad Sastri, and were published by him with other material (in Apabhramsa) from the Vangiya Sahitya Parishad of Calcutta, in the Bengali Year 1323 = 1916 A.D. Scholars interested in New Indo-Aryan linguistics at once took up their study in Bengal. I have given some attention to the *Caryā* lyrics for the last 50 years, and I gave out my view, in 1926, in my *Origin and Development of the Bengali Language* that the language of the *Caryās* was Old Bengali. My reasons were fully stated in that work. There is a considerable amount of literature in Bengali on the subject of the *Caryās*, discussing also the character of the language; and all the top-ranking scholars of Bengal, besides some from abroad, have agreed as to the Old Bengali character of the language. But for some time past, the *Caryās* have been claimed by the speakers of each of these languages—Assamese, Oriya, Maithili, Magahi and Bhojpuri, and even for "Hindi". This is a very important linguistic question no doubt, but these lectures did not form a proper forum for discussing this question in detail, as it was bound to be technical.

Recently at a meeting of the General Council of the *Orissa Sahitya Akademi*, which sponsored my lectures, the following resolution was taken: "Scholars in the field of the Bengali, Assamese, Oriya and Maithili languages claim that the *Bauddha Gān O Dohā* (i.e. the *Caryā-padas*) has been written in their own languages. The time has now come for the scholars of all these four speeches to meet and discuss these questions and to come to a conclusion. This was suggested by Dr. Chatterji in the course of a lecture, and he was also agreed to record this view in the *Preface* of his lectures". I think it would be an excellent idea to call for a full-dress discussion of the matter. But we should first of all try to have a distinctive

critical text of the *Caryā* poems. For these, there is a respectable mass of new material, e.g. those which were collected by Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. Haraprasad Sastri himself, and also by the late Dr. Prabodh Chandra Bagchi and by the late Rahula Sankrityayana, as well as by the late Dr. Arnold Bake in the shape of tape-records of some of the *Caryā* songs and other similar poems taken down from the ritualistic singing or recitations of the Newari-speaking Buddhist priests of Nepal. The better plan would be to have first of all an authoritative text of the *Caryās* (with similar other literature) prepared, and that can be the work only of a single scholar, as it would be difficult to muster the linguistic talent from all the Magadhan languages for an investigation of the literary and linguistic as well as the philosophical and religious problems involved in the proper study of the *Caryā-padas*. When this is done, and there is a general agreement about the text as established with the help of the linguistic science, then this matter of the exact linguistic affinity and affiliation of the *Caryā-padas* can be fully discussed and finally decided. For the present, it can of course be said that Bengali, Assamese and Oriya each was a thousand years ago something like what we find in the *Caryā-padas*, taking note also of the later developments in each language in phonology, in morphology and in vocabulary.

We are however on surer ground when we are looking into the inscriptional evidence for specimens of Old Oriya. The Oriya language has been the most conservative among its sisters, and, as I have said elsewhere, if you want to find out what Early Bengali was like, study Early Oriya.

I trust there is nothing controversial in the views expressed in the lectures as published in this book. I have only to say that I have the greatest affection and respect for the fine Culture of Orissa, and a very deep appreciation of the great qualities of the Oriya People: and I am fully congnisant of the elements of intrinsic as well as *ensemble* value which have been brought by the People of Orissa to enrich the Civilisation of India. I can only venture to offer these lectures of mine as my loving and reverent homage at the shrine of *Kaliṅga Mātā* or *Utkaḷa Mātā*.

I have to thank all my friends in Orissa who helped me to enlarge the horizon of my knowledge of Oriya history, literature and culture, particularly the erudite group of scholars who are working in the various scientific and cultural institutions at Bhubaneswar, Cuttack and Puri. I am specially grateful to Sri Gauri Kumar Brahma, M.A., formerly the erudite Secretary of the *Orissa Sahitya Akademi*, who has been of very great help in enabling me to see the book through the press and in helping me with items of information which I required in connexion with my lectures. I have also to record my thanks to the proprietors of the K.M. Press in Calcutta who were responsible for the printing of the book, a task which they accomplished with zeal and enthusiasm, as on previous occasions.

"Sudharmā",
16 Hindusthan Park,
Calcutta-29 :
June 8, 1966

Suniti Kumar Chatterji

SOME CORRECTIONS

Page 16, line 31	read "Telugu" for "Telegu".
Page 36, line 14	read "**brahmaṇa-ṅ-ku**" in place of "**brahmaṇa-n-ku**" ; read also "**bhaṇḍāra**" in place of "**bhāṇḍara**".
Page 36, line 26	read " **Ṛṣikoile**".
Page 37, line 21	read "**samanta**"
Page 38, line 21	read "**baḍa**".
Page 65, line 3	read "Akademi".
Page 68, line 19	read "with the cultural".
Page 75, line 24	read "stubborn".

PRELIMINARY

IN MEMORIAM : ARTAVALLABHA MAHANTI

I have first of all to express my thanks to the Orissa Sahitya Academy for the great honour they have done me by asking me to deliver the first of the series of lectures which has been established as a fitting memorial to a distinguished son of Orissa and India, the late Professor Artavallabha Mahanti, and thus to inaugurate these annual lectures which are contemplated to perpetuate the memory of Professor Mahanti in the scholarly world of India.

It is only fitting and proper that this inaugural series of lectures should begin with a tribute of respect to the memory of the great scholar with whose name they have been associated. Artavallabha Mahanti was not only a well-known scholar and *litterateur* of Orissa, who did valuable service to his people as Professor of Sanskrit and Oriya and as research worker of eminence in the field of Oriya Literature, but was also a *doyen* among the scholars of present-day India who had devoted themselves to the study of Modern Indian Languages and their Literatures. Professor Mahanti's life was a simple and uneventful one of a teacher and a scholar, but his influence has been far-reaching.

His career can be briefly summarised as follows. Born in 1887 in the village of Naganpur in the district of Cuttack, he had his early education in the Mission Higher English School in Cuttack, and after that he went to Bhabanipur and completed his Intermediate Arts studies there. He passed out B.A. from the Ravenshaw College, Cuttack, with Honours in Sanskrit, and as this college was at that time affiliated to the University of Calcutta, the University of Calcutta can claim him to be one of its distinguished graduates. He then came to Calcutta and joined the Presidency College in that city, and in 1914 he passed the M.A. Examination of the Calcutta University in Sanskrit. The same year he joined the Raven-

shaw College in his own native province as Lecturer in Sanskrit. After eight years he was promoted to be Assistant Professor of Sanskrit, and he continued to work in the Ravenshaw College right up to his retirement from Government Service in 1947, after an unbroken period of 33 years in the Education Department. He was thus in his life's avocation a teacher. But he was a person who inspired his students and others with a love of their mother-tongue and its literature. It was through his initiative primarily that proper critical editions of the Early Oriya Classics first started. Honours classes in Oriya for the B.A. Examination were commenced in the Ravenshaw College mainly through his efforts, and after the establishment of the Utkal University in 1946, it was through his interest and initiative that the Post-graduate Department in Oriya was opened.

He was all along very closely connected with a number of literary and cultural associations in the State of Orissa ; and his continuous services in this direction were for half a century. He became the working President of the *Utkaḷa Sāhitya Samāja* in Cuttack, which is one of the premier literary associations connected with the Oriya language. Later on he became the Vice-President of this Institution. He was all along a very active worker of the Orissa Sahitya Academy since the time when it was started, and he was on the Oriya Advisory Board of the National Sahitya Academy of Delhi. He received the title of *Vidyā-bhūshaṇa* from the Andhra Research Society. The British Government appreciated his valuable services as an educationist and scholar and gave him the title of *Rai Sahib* in 1931 and *Rai Bahadur* in 1943 ; and the National Government of India after Independence conferred on him the order of *Padma-Śrī*. The Utkal University decorated him with the title of *Doctor of Literature*. He was interested in Music, and as such he was associated with the *Utkaḷa Saṅgīta Samāja*.

Professor Mahanti was quite an institution in himself, and his all-round services for the enrichment of Oriya literature, for the organisation of literary and cultural activities and for the proper study, interpretation and understanding of Indian

literature, primarily Oriya and Sanskrit, have been universally recognised.

Artavallabha Mahanti's scholarly qualities found an expression in his editions of the Old Oriya Poets, and he had a profound understanding of literary ideologies as well as proper interpretation of the most difficult poetical compositions written during the last 500 years in Orissa. His erudition found an expression in the long introductions which he contributed to his editions of the Early Oriya literary compositions. In this way he inaugurated a new chapter in the study of one of the most important literatures of modern India. The last work that he was engaged in was a new edition of the *Sāraḷā Mahābhārata*, one of the most famous classics of Oriya Literatures, a work of the 15th century, and this edition was completed just a few days before his death. He could not finish the learned introduction which he was writing, having done only about 200 pages.

Because of his scholarship there will always be a special niche for him in the Hall of Fame in the study of Oriya and other Indian Languages and Literatures. Apart from his eminence as a scholar, Professor Mahanti was one of the finest characters one can think of. He was an incarnation of culture and amiability, and it was always a pleasure to talk to him in matters not only scholarly but also with reference to life in general—its problems and its joys and sorrows. He had a subtle sense of humour. I can personally testify to the essential goodness of this great scholar's personality and his affectionate nature. I was privileged to come in contact with him for the first time over 30 years ago; and on one occasion we travelled together by rail from Delhi to Bombay in the same compartment, where I could see that in his little ways and in his manner of conducting himself he was a nature's gentleman. As I was junior to him by some years, he looked upon me as a younger brother and I most gladly responded to this affectionate relationship which was established between him and myself. He was

not much accustomed to travel, and he appreciated very much the little attentions I paid to him and to his requirements, as one who was a much more seasoned traveller than himself; and for this he used to call me his *Neuḷa Bhāi*, his little "mongoose brother", and the affectionate implication of this word will be appreciated by all Oriya speakers. He had a very legitimate sense of pride in the achievements of Orissa, and of Orissan scholars, particularly in Sanskrit. On one occasion he was very careful in taking some very erudite scholars of Sanskrit from Orissa to an All-India Sanskrit Convention in Varanasi, and there these gentlemen from Orissa could uphold the name and fame of Orissa in traditional Sanskrit scholarship by their very fluent speeches in excellent Sanskrit; and no one seemed to be happier at their success than Professor Mahanti himself. I can recall some of the little incidents of my contact with him during my visits to his residence in Cuttack and also during his coming to see me in my own home in Calcutta; and when I think of him, it is only with a heavy heart that I can offer my tribute of respect to his memory. But at the same time, I feel happy that I am here to place at the shrine of his memory a small garland of flowers in the shape of these lectures.

I. THE RACIAL, LINGUISTIC AND CULTURAL BACKGROUND OF ORISSA

Orissa is now one of the major States of the Union of India. After the reorganisation of the States in India on a linguistic basis, here in Orissa the Oriya-speaking people within the Union of India have almost all been concentrated, leaving, which is inevitable, some small enclaves of Oriya-speakers in the surrounding states. The present population of Orissa is a little over 17.5 millions. The population of India as separated from Pakistan is nearly 445 millions, and that of Pakistan is over 96.5 millions. India and Pakistan, although they are now two independent states, form part of the same sub-continent ; and in their Geography, their Ethnology, their Languages, their History and Culture, they form really one country and one people. The sub-continent of India, including Pakistan and Nepal, has thus, as a single and indivisible geographical unit, a population of roughly over 550 millions. The percentage of Oriya speakers in this vast polyglot population will not exceed even four. But in importance and influence, Orissa and the Oriya people have already made their mark, and are progressing very fast, not only in art and culture, but also in industry and commerce. With her mineral resources just beginning to be properly exploited, Orissa has already become one of the most important centres of industry in India. The past of Orissa was brilliant, and its future can certainly be expected to be much more so.

Orissa like Assam is still a museum of races and languages. In their composition, the people of Orissa present as much diversity of type as well as inter-mixture as any other part of India. There are the Aryan-speaking Oriyas who appear to have been concentrated in ancient times mostly on the sea coast, along the lower reaches of the Subarnarekha, the Salandi, the Baitarani, the Mahanadi and

the Prachi rivers, and among whom specific culture of Orissa has mostly developed. These Aryan-speaking peoples of Orissa have their ramifications in the hill and forest tracts of the interior. In the jungles and hills of interior Orissa are scattered earlier peoples of India, who are now known as *Ādivāsīs*—the *Bhūmi-Putras* or "Sons or the Soil" as the people of Java say—the people who have lived in this country from before the beginning of history.

The racial composition of the Oriya people, as that of the people of any other part of India, is still a matter of controversy or of diversity of opinion. The latest view pronounced officially by the Anthropological Survey of India, through the writings of the late Dr. B. S. Guha, suggested that in Eastern India, including Bengal and the coast lands of Orissa, the basic races were "Palae-Mediterraneans", and in the interior the people were mainly "Proto-Australoids" and "Negritos". These various racial names are more or less abstractions which had to be created by professional scholars of the Science of Man. But in a general way, without doing any violence to science, the proper practical as well as scientific background would be to take the various "language-culture" groups as palpable entities in the composition of the body-politic of Orissa or any other State in India. As a matter of fact, the broad lines of racial and linguistic movements in India, which led to the creation of the very mixed present-day Indian population, seem to be quite clear, and they were as follows.

It has not yet been established that any kind of Primitive Man orginated on the soil of India, and it is generally admitted that all her human inhabitants came from outside, from time immemorial. First of all, we had on Indian soil a Negroid or Negrito people, short in stature, black in colour, wooly-haired, snub-nosed and long-headed, who are represented by the Andamanese in the Andaman Islands and by some small tribes now speaking dialects of Tamil in Madras State. Traces of these Negroid people are found in the Naga Hills in

the extreme North-East of India, and also in some other areas in India. These Negroids are believed to have come to India from Africa along the coast-lands of Arabia, Iraq and Iran, and they arrived in Western India several thousands of years ago. They passed on to Burma, and from Burma they crossed over to the Andamans in their dug-out canoes, and then groups of them passed into Malaya, the Philippines and New Guinea. At any rate, in these places certain Negroid peoples can still be found, like the Semangs in Malaya, the Aetas in the Philippines, and the Papuans in New Guinea. They were in the eolithic stage of culture, and they were Food-Gatherers not Food-Producers. They knew the use of the bow and arrow, and they lived by fishing with spears and arrows, by hunting and by digging the ground for grubs and roots. Their contribution to Indian civilisation has been almost nil, although it is believed that some of their religious notions survived among the other peoples who followed them, being taken over from them.

These Negritos would appear to have been killed off by later peoples who came to India, or they were in some cases absorbed by these latter. After the Negritos, we have on the Indian soil a people who can be called "Proto-Australoids". They were a very ancient branch of the Mediterranean people ; and they came from the Palestine and Syrian areas. In India they became specially characterised, and their language became the Primitive Austric Speech, which we now find developed into the present-day Austric languages (with considerable mixture with other types of speech) in their two great branches—the *Austro-Asiatic* Branch and the *Austronesian* Branch.

The Austro-Asiatic Branch of this language-family includes the Kol or Munda language of India (like Santali, Mundari, Bhumij, Ho, Savara, Gadaba and Kurku), besides Khasi in Assam, and Nicobarese in the Nicobar Islands ; and we have also a number of other languages confined to the main-land of Asia which belong to this Austro-Asiatic Branch, namely, Paloung and Wa of Burma, Mon of South

Burma round the Gulf of Martaban and also of part of South Siam, as well as Khmer of Cambodia, besides a few dialects like Bahnar and Stieng of Indo-China and Sakai of the Malaya Peninsula. We have the two sub-branches of the Austro-Asiatic Branch—(1) the Kol or Munda, and (2) the Mon-Khmer—and under the latter fall all the languages mentioned above, except those which are mentioned first as Kol languages.

The Austronesian Branch falls into three subdivisions—(1) Indonesian, (2) Melanesian including Micronesian, and (3) Polynesian. The languages of these three groups of Austronesian are spoken in the Southern Island World extending form Malaya right down to the South Pacific Islands, and including the Hawaii Islands and New Zealand and Easter Island. Of these three subdivisions of Austronesian, (1) the Indonesian languages include the following: Malay, *Bahasa Mĕlayu*, which has become the National Language of Malaysia (or, rather, Malayasia) and of Indonesia (in Indonesia it is known as *Bahasa Indonesia* or "the Indonesian Speech"), Achinese, Javanese, Sundanese, Madurese, Balinese, Battak, Toraja, Minahasa, Sulawesi or the Celebes language, Dayak in Borneo, Sasak in the Island of Lombok, the language of Timor etc.; besides the various languages of the Philippine Islands (like Tagalog, Visaya, Ilocano, Igorot), and the native language of Formosa; and moreover, Malagasi in far-away Madagascar belongs to the Indonesian group; (2) the Melanesian languages—under this come the speech of Fiji (or Viti), Solomon Islands, Caroline Islands, New Hebrides, New Caledonia, Marshall Islands, Gilbert Islands and other connected groups of islands in the western Pacific. (3) Finally, under Polynesian we have a group of very closely connected languages which are current among the members of the very distinctive Polynesian race who differ from the dark-skinned Melanesians and also from the partly Mongoloid Indonesians in a remarkable degree: the languages of Samoa, of the Tonga Islands, of Tahiti, of the Tuamotu Islands, of the Marquesas, and of Hawaii Islands, and Maori of New Zealand; and

the speeches of other island groups or isolated islands in the eastern part of the Pacific.

Of these Austric speeches in their Austro-Asiatic Branch, the Kol or Munda languages are well represented in Orissa; and these form, along with some Dravidian dialects, the very noteworthy *Ādivāsī* speeches as current among the close neighbours of the speakers of the Aryan Oriya within the State.

We have to consider next the Dravidian-speaking peoples, and they are also represented in strong numbers within Orissa. The Dravidian languages form solid *blocs* in the Deccan and South India, and they include four great languages of civilisation, Telugu, Kannada, Tamil and Malayalam, besides Tulu which follows them closely; and there are certain languages which are speeches of communities which are not so much advanced, e.g. Gond in Central India, Kandh or Kui in Orissa, Oraon or Kurukh and Maler or Mal-Pahaṛia in Bihar, besides small speeches like Toda, Kota, and Kolami in South India, and the noteworthy Brahui speech, an isolated Dravidian language, spoken in Baluchistan. All these Dravidian languages are descended from a *Common Proto-Dravidian Speech* which was possibly current as a single language in North India as well as in parts of South India some 3000 years ago. The Dravidian-speaking peoples included various racial groups, but the original Dravidian speakers brought a high type of culture into India, and they are believed to be a people of Eastern Mediterranean origin who were closely connected with several peoples of ancient Asia Minor and also the pre-Hellenic peoples of Greece with Crete and the Greek Islands.

After this, we have to consider the Aryans who were a branch of the Indo-European-speaking group of peoples. The Aryans appear to have come into India with their language and their own culture and religion some time during the second half of the second millennium before Christ, i.e. after 1500 B. C., from the West, the same direction from which the Austrics and the Dravidians

also came. These Aryans were the people who gave the tone to the civilisation of India. As a matter of fact, the Indian people of the present day is mainly the result of a fusion, in varied degrees, of some at least four great racial-cum-linguistic groups. We have here mentioned three, namely the Austric or Austro-Asiatic, the Dravidian and the Aryan or Indo-European. There is a fourth group also to consider, which consisted of the Mongoloid peoples. These last were characterised in the regions to the west of China, and they were quite distinctive, with their oblique eyes, their high cheek-bones, their yellow complexion and their straight hair. From the original speech of the Mongoloids developed the various languages which are spoken throughout the whole of Eastern and South-Eastern Asia, and also along the Himalayan slopes of India, and they are concentrated in India in the State of Assam and in the independent country of Nepal. The languages of the Mongoloid peoples fall under several groups. We have first of all to note the Ural-Altaic languages which belong to quite a different family and are current among Tatar and the Finno-Ugrian peoples, like the Turks, the Mongols, the Manchus, the Yakuts, the Tunguses etc., and the Finns, the Esths, the Lapps, the Magyars or the Hungarians and various small tribes living in Russia like the Ostyaks, the Voguls, the Chuvashes, the Samoyeds, the Mordvins etc. These Ural-Altaic peoples belong to the Western Mongoloid group. Then we have the Eastern Mongoloids, whose basic language has become ultimately Chinese and Siamese and connected apeeches on the one hand, and on the other Tibetan and Burmese and the various Tibeto-Burman languages of India. These are all closely related to each other. We have also to note that there is a third group of Mongoloid peoples who linguistically form a special branch of the family—they are the Japanese, the Ainus, the Koreans, the Gilyaks, the Yukhagirs and the Kamchadals and a few other peoples of North-Eastern Asia.

Austric, Dravidian, Aryan and Mongoloid : these are the component elements of the Indian people of the

present day, about whom we know something positive. Of these, the Mongoloids did not have the same All-India expansion and importance as the other three. The Mongoloid element was concentrated in Assam and in North Bengal and Bihar and the Himalayan area right up to Kashmir. But evidence has been found of Mongoloid penetration as far down south as Rajasthan and Central India.

It has been suggested by some scholars (e. g. T. Burrow of Oxford), reasonably enough, that over and above the four racio-linguistic groups of peoples mentioned above, namely Austro-Asiatic, Dravidian, Mongoloid and Aryan (in Sanskrit parlance Nishāda, Dramiḍa, Kirāta and Ārya), there were possibly other ones also, of whom we have lost all trace. We can just form some vague ideas about another—a fifth—group with its distinct language, totally different from Aryan, Dravidian, Kol and Mongoloid, which has merged into the other peoples, but the language of which seems to survive in a number of unexplained words and forms and usages which we see in the present-day Kol and Dravidian groups, and these, until recent times, could not build up any great cultures of their own. Perhaps owing to their being forced out from the fertile riverain plains, these Austric and Dravidian groups had to concentrate themselves in the various hill and forest regions of Orissa and the adjoining Madhya Pradesa and Bihar as well as Andhra Pradesa, where they had no scope for developing a high type of civilisation which in India is based on agriculture. The preponderence of *Ādivāsī* elements, which are slowly and inevitably becoming Aryanised, is an important factor in the historical and cultural background of Orissa.

Of course in later times, probably from a few centuries before the Christian era, Dravidian groups in Orissa built up a civilisation which was primarily a reflex or a local modification of the composite civilisation of North India—the Hindu or Brahmanical-cum-Jaina-Buddhist civilisation—which began to take its characteristic shape from round about

1000 B.C. This composite civilisation was the joint creation of an evergrowing mixed people consisting of the pre-Aryan peoples of India, the Austro-Asiatics and the Dravidians, as well as the Aryans; and these last—the Aryans—came and established themselves as the *Herrenvolk* or Ruling Race in North India from after 1500 B.C. The culture which was being built up by the fusion of races (which had begun even before the Aryans had come) was basically that of the Austrics and the Dravidians, with certain elements, particularly in religious and socio-political organisations, which were supplied by the Aryan speakers. The Mongoloid peoples in the Himalayan slopes and in the plains, who appeared to have been comparatively fewer in number, also made their contribution in this new culture which was developing. The warp of the fabric of this composite ancient Indian civilisation was furnished by the pre-Aryan or non-Aryan peoples, and the woof by the Aryans.

This new culture—the ancient Hindu culture, with the Aryan's language Sanskrit as its vehicle—became a tremendous force for the whole of India; and later on, it went out beyond the shores and the frontiers of India to South-Eastern Asia on the one hand and to the countries to the North-West of India on the other. The more advanced and organised Dravidian groups in South India and in Central India also, came within its spell. Thus the basic elements in the culture of Orissa have been what we find to be something of a pan-Indian nature. It was like this. The pre-Aryan peoples, more or less in their primitive state, were originally inhabiting the country, and they were overlaid by more advanced Dravidian-speaking peoples who had already accepted this composite North Indian Culture; and finally, the advent and spread of the Aryan language gave the distinctive character and discipline to what could be called the culture, the civilisation and life of Hindu India which was also that of Orissa.

We cannot speak of the Oriya people without the Oriya language; and before this language took shape and became established as the main speech of Orissa, Orissa was non-

existent as a state with a people having a definite character or personality. There were various tribes, and all of them were non-Aryan-speaking, who were scattered all over Orissa during the pre-historic and proto-historic periods. Orissa was the home-land of primitive peoples from the Early Stone Age, judging from the stone implements, paleolithic as well as neolithic, which have been found in some places within Orissa. Who these peoples were, and what were their language and culture, we do not know. They might have been Negroids, they might have been Austrics, possibly also Dravidians ; and it is not unlikely that there were other peoples with different languages and cultures, as it has been suggested before.

Then we have traces of a fairly high ancient culture in West Bengal, not so very far away from Orissa—in Birbhum, in Burdwan, in Hooghly and in the 24-Parganas districts. They had built up a proto-historic civilisation which seems to have had connexions with that of Western and North-Western India, and there are evidences of some kind of contact with the civilisation of Mesopotamia and of Western Asia Minor, and may be Crete. But no vestiges of similar cultural strata have as yet been found in Orissa. Orissa emerges into history from the third century B. C., when Asoka conquered a part of Orissa and left his inscriptions at Dhauli and Jaugada and his palace cut in the living rock near Bhubaneswar. This part of Orissa, possibly along with the whole of the coastal area as far south as the Godavari river, was known as *Kaliṅga.* The name *Kaliṅga* we generally associate now-a-days with the southern part of Orissa and with the Telugu people. Northern or Upper Kalinga at some later period was known in its contracted form as *Ut-kaḷa*, evidently from a fuller name *Ut-Kaliṅga*, i.e. "Upper or Outer Kalinga", and this name, *Utkaḷa*, is now confined to present-day Oriya-speaking Orissa. The Andhras, by which name the Telugus are now known, were a people of uncertain origin who at first belonged to the Western part of the Deccan—the northern Maharashtra—and they used a special kind of Prakrit in their inscriptions at Nasik and elsewhere and in their coins.

The Andhras were already at the time of the *Aitarēya Brāhmaṇa* (500 B.C. ?) a people of the Deccan, and they were later associated with the *Dramiḍas* or *Draviḍas* i.e. Tamilians (including the *Kērala* or Malayali people) and the *Karṇāṭas* or the Kannada people.

It is clear that in Orissa, possibly from the centuries immediately before Christ, two streams of civilisation met—of which one was from the South and the South-West, brought in by Dravidian-speakers who were in all likelihood the ancestors of the Telugu people ; and the other was from Aryan-speaking North India. This latter, again, came to Orissa in two lines—a broader or more powerful stream, which came from *Magadha* via West Bengal, and the other, a thinner stream, which reached Orissa from what is now Madhya Pradesa, known also as Maha-kosala, which is now the Chhattisgarh area, and had trickled down into Orissa through the various tracts of Bilaspur, Raigarh and Sambalpur. These two streams of Aryan speech and Aryan-speaking people's migration merged in Orissa ; and the Oriya language is mainly a speech from Magadha, coming from Magadha or South Bihar via *Rāḍha* or West Bengal, but it was influenced by the Aryan speech of *Mahā-kōsala*, which was an offshoot of Kosali or Awadhi (commonly described—not correctly though—as "Eastern Hindi"). The other effective stream of civilisation, as mentioned above, which reached Orissa from the South, was the Deccan culture of the Dravidian-speaking peoples, which in itself is virtually the same as the composite and complex Aryan-Dravidian culture of North India. A meagre influence of Aryandom from the West, and the main volume of Aryandom from the North-East—Bengal and South Bihar, and quite important elements of culture borne into Orissa by Dravidian-speaking peoples—Telugus of ancient times—from the South : these are the main components of the historic culture of Orissa.

There has been a lot of discussion and speculation about the names for the various peoples and places of Orissa, as well as about the origin of some of the characteristic expressions of Hinduism in Orissa State. These discussions,

particularly about the earlier civilisation of Orissa during the first millennium A.D., will be found in the works of Historians of Orissa like Rajendralala Mitra, Rakhal Das Banerjea, Hare-Krushna Mahatab, Hem Chandra Roy and Dinesh Chandra Sircar, and it is not necessary to recapitulate what they have said in this connexion—about tribes and areas which are definitely of Orissa or are parts of Orissa : like Gaṅga, Tosali, Uḍra (Oḍra), Kaliṅga, Koṅgoda, Utkala, etc. which, though connected with our subject, are not of immediate importance, and do not help us much in finding out the cultural and linguistic bearings of ancient Orissa.

But there are some interesting points in connexion with the names *Orissa* and *Oriya* (as they are written in English)—the name of the land, and the name of the people and its language. The old name *Kaliṅga*, for the West Coast of Bay of Bengal including Orissa and the Telugu country right down to the mouth of the Godavari, barely survives in a few modern place-names, besides its frequent occurrence in the pages of history. This name for a class of people is current now only in the Malay Peninsula and the Islands of Indonesia, where people coming from the South Indian ports (from the Telugu and Tamil countries) are known as *Kĕliṇgs* or *Klings*. The name is found in the Greek Geographers as early as the second century A.D., and it occurs also in early Sanskrit literature as in the *Mahābhārata* and the earlier *Purāṇas* ; and of course, it features in the inscriptions of Asoka. The comparative disuse of this name is a noteworthy fact in the history of Orissa, and of the Oriya people. After the Asoka inscriptions, telling us something about the conquest of Kalinga by Asoka himself and about Asoka's administration of this area, with Tosali as its capital, we have the inscription of Khāravēla which goes back to the second century B. C. Khāravēla's inscription is one of the most important documents about the early history and culture of Orissa and India. It is written in a kind of Prakrit or Middle Indo-Aryan, which one can only connect with the Prakrit of the Mathura area (the Śūrasēna section of the *Madhya-dēśa* or the Mid-land,

corresponding roughly to the present-day Eastern Panjab and Western U. P.) and not with the Prakrit of Magadha which we find in the earlier Asoka inscriptions. Khāravēla was a Jaina, and at that time Mathura was an important centre of Jainism, and Khāravēla's religious teachers or councillors in all likelihood came from Mathura, and, as a matter of course, they used the dialect of Mathura in the inscription which they prepared for the Kalinga king, their disciple.

The dynasty to which he belonged, named the *Ceti* dynasty, and his family name *Aila*, have not been satisfactorily interpreted. Even the name *Khāravēla* which looks quite un-Sanskritic, and is rather non-Aryan in its feel, has not been properly explained. I have attempted to interpret *Khāravēla* as a Dravidian name, the affinities of which are to be found in Telugu and Tamil. It comes (as I think) from two Dravidian words combined into an attributive compound (*Bahuvrīhi-samāsa*)—**kar-vēl* = "Black Spear", and the name evidently meant "He who wields a black (that is to say, destructive) spear or lance" (=Sanskrit **kṛṣṇa-ṛṣṭi* : see my paper on this subject in the Volume of Essays presented to Gidugu Ramamurti Rao—*Vyāsa-Saṅgrahamu*, published from Waltair, 1937 ; see also page 47, footnote 1 of "History of Orissa" by Hare-Krushna Mahatab, Cuttack, 1959).

The names of two other princes of the same *Ceti* (or *Mahāmēgha-vāhana*) dynasty are found in the Hathigumpha caves, and their names, *Kūdepa* and *Vaḍukha*, are decidedly Dravidian—probably Ancient Telugu, like the name *Khāravēla* itself. *Kūdepa*, I suggest, may be connected with the Tamil *kur'an'*, *kur'van'*, *kur'umpan'*, which are all based on a root-word *kur'*, meaning "mountain or hill" ; Tamil *kur'umpu* "hill chieftains", Malayalam *kur'uppu* "a chief", Telegu *korava* "a tribe of mountaineers", *kurupa*, *kuruma* "a caste of shepherds". *Kūdepa* thus may mean "a chieftain from the mountains" (See T. Burrow and M.B. Emeneau "A Dravidian Etymological Dictionary", Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1961, No. 1530). *Vaḍukha* appears to be a name meaning "a northerner" ; it is from a common Dravidian base *vaṭa*, *vaḍa* or *baḍa* meaning "north"—the word no longer is a living one in Telugu, but

there is the Telugu word *vaḍaku-goṇḍa* meaning "the Himalayas", literally "the Northern Mountain" (See Burrow and Emeneau, *op. cit.*, No. 4267).

During the period of the Guptas, Orissa came in close touch with the Gupta Empire, and some principalities of Orissa which were conquered by Samudra-Gupta have been mentioned. But there is no special name of any tribe. Little dynasties were now ruling over parts of Orissa and they had no special importance. But the names for the state and the people which were gradually extended to the entire Oriya-speaking tract, and which are the current ones, namely *Orissa* and *Oriya*, are in their origin quite intriguing, and capable of being the source of some speculation. The name unquestionably comes from that of a tribe or people who were quite a noteworthy group in Orissa in the 7th century, and most certainly even earlier : and their nucleus or *nidus* was in the modern Northern Orissa along the sea, roughly corresponding to the present districts of Balasore, Cuttack and Puri.

When Hiuen Ts'ang came to Orissa round about 638 A.D., he called the country by the name **Uḍa* or **Wuḍa*, which is now pronounced in modern Chinese (Peking speech) as *U-cha* (=*Wu-ṭṣa*). This **Uḍa* is evidently a form of the name found in Sanskrit as *Udra*, *Uḍra* or *Oḍra*. We do not know anything about the *Uḍra* people, but it was this people who gave the name to the State of Orissa and to the Oriya Language. The word certainly cannot be Sanskrit, although it is not unlikely that it is a Sanskritisation of some Prakrit or non-Aryan name like *Uḍḍa* or *Oḍḍa*. Not being Sanskrit, it can be either Austric or Dravidian. But the Oḍras (or Uḍras) were undoubtedly, even during the middle of the first millennium A.D., quite a powerful people, to have given their name to the country, and they were also well-advanced in civilisation. In all likelihood, they were speakers of some form of ancient Telugu, and we have to consider in this connexion that the names of a king and of two royal personages, *Khāravēla*, *Kūdepa* and *Vaḍukha* (as discussed above), several centuries before, were Dravidian, and these were possibly ancient Telugu names. About the people

inhabiting the kingdom of Uḍra or Oḍra, Hiuen Ts'ang said that "they were of violent ways, tall and of dark complexion, and in speech and manners they were different from the people of Mid-India". Their physical features were noted, and evidently it was not of the type of the ordinary Indian or mixed Aryan-non-Aryan origin who cannot be characterised as "black". The non-Aryan element was certainly strong in the Uḍra country. But speaking about the Koṅgoda country, which was to the South-West of the Oḍra country, Hiuen Ts'ang says that the people were tall, brave and of dark complexion; and though their language was the same as in other parts of North India, their pronunciation was quite different. This is rather vague, and apparently contradictory. If the Oḍra people presumably were non-Aryan speaking, the Koṅgodas to their South could be no less so. As I have discussed the matter elsewhere (in my *Origin and Development of the Bengali Language*, Calcutta 1926, Vol. I, pp. 78, 79), this difference of speech, which Hiuen Ts'ang's text describes as "slight", could only have really been very great, or at least noteworthy. But it may be that the Aryan language was just spreading in those parts among peoples who spoke forms of Dravidian (mostly Ancient Telugu) and Austro-Asiatic. The people of this area had commercial relations with South-Eastern Asia and Indonesia.

The Uḍra people became well-known for another reason. The word in Prakrit was *Oḍḍa*, and this form was current in early Ancient Indo-Aryan—in the modern *Bhāshās* or New Indo-Aryan languages the word became *Oḍa*, and then *Oḍ*; and in Tamil, the word became *Oṭṭan'* (singular, masculine), *Oṭṭar* (plural). Now, we have throughout the whole of South India, beginning with the Telugu country, a class or caste of people known as *Oṭṭa* or *Oḍḍa* whose special occupation is the excavation of tanks and wells. They were well-known for their skill in earth-work. In South Indian (Tamil and Telugu) inscriptions of the times immediately after the commencement of the 2nd millennium A.D., *Oṭṭar* or *Oḍḍar* is used to mean the Oriya or Orissa people also. In North India, among the Aryan-speakers we have the word *Oḍa* in Early Kosali

("Eastern Hindi") of the 12th century, and *Oḍ(a)* figures as the name of a Hindu caste in mediaeval Mithila. These *Oḍas* or *Oḍs* in North India also were in demand for their skill in digging tanks and making structures connected with tanks. Thus we have in the *Ukti-Vyakti-Prakaraṇa* (a work seeking to teach Sanskrit through a North Indian vernacular speech, and it was composed before 1150 by Dāmodara Paṇḍita who evidently hailed from Varanasi), this passage (as in the printed edition, p. 21):

kawana e chāti-taḍeṃ rā-kara sāgara Oṁḍahu-pāsa (=*Oḍahuṁ-pāsa*) *khanāwanta āccha ?*

("Who is the person under the umbrella, who is having this king's tank excavated with the help of the Oḍas?"—the Sanskrit equivalent is given as *ka eṣa dhṛta-cchatro rāja-sāgaraṁ Udraiḥ khānayati, khānayann āste.*)

Then again we have the mention of the *Oḍas* in the *Varṇa-ratnākara* of Jyotirīśvara Ṭhākura of Mithila (before 1325 A.D.), as at p. 1 of the printed edition, where the name *Oḍa* is given in a list of castes or tribes which are "of an evil or a low class" (*manda-jātīya*), among such other castes as oil-men, weavers, fishermen, cotton-carders, *Ḍoms*, *Hāḍis* or scavengers, grog-sellers, boat-men, *Caṇḍālas*, leather-workers, *Goṇḍs*, etc.

It would appear that the *Oḍ* (or *Oḍḍa*) people, evidently from Orissa, had spread over a considerable part of Northern as well as Southern India, as skilled navvies or earth-workers and tank-makers. In Orissa itself, we have a class of agriculturists known as *Oḍa-Tasā* or *Oḍa-Casā*. It is just likely that the Oḍras were clever irrigationists and expert agriculturists who took up specially this vocation of excavating tanks. The skill of the Oriya people in subsequent centuries in erecting huge temples like those at Bhubaneswar, Puri and Konarak, is well-known. In any case, it is from them that the names *Orissa* and *Oriya* came into being.

Utkala still remains rather a learned name, with which Sanskrit scholars are quite at home, but not so much the masses. The name *Orissa* has been quoted by mediaeval writers, particularly the early Tibetan Historians of Buddhism

in India, who wrote the name as *Oḍivisa* or *Oṭivisa*. This is based on a proto-Oriya word like **Oḍḍiviśaa* or **Oḍiviśaa*. In Early Oriya, or at least in Oriya in its formative period, the sibilant still retained its pronunciation as in Māgadhi Prakrit, i.e. like the palatal ś. From this **Oḍiviśaa*, or **Oḍiviśaa*, we have the modern Oriya name *Oḍiśā*, which is spelt with ś. This name goes back to a Sanskrit compound, *Auḍri-* or *Oḍri-viṣaya*. The use of the word *viṣaya* to mean a province or a tract of country, in Eastern India, in pre-Muslim times, is quite well-known. Note for example the Bengali surname among Varendra Brahmans—*Biśi*, which is really from *Viṣayin*, meaning "a person in charge of a *Viṣaya* or district". In Bengali, the equivalent of the Oriya form *Oḍiśā* is *Uḍiṣyā* The Bengali spelling with the cerebral ṣ somehow has retained the cerebral ṣ of the full Sanskrit **Auḍri-viṣaya*. (Bengali orthography in late mediaeval and modern times has been entirely under the influence of Sanskrit.). *Auḍrika*, *Oḍrika* or *Uḍrika* would give Middle Indo-Aryan **Oḍḍia*, and the Oriya word—the "national" name of the Oriyas for themselves and their language—O-ḍi-ā—is the normal development from this form ; and by a euphonic *y* insertion, we get in Bengali *Uḍiyā* (= *Uṛiyā*), in Hindi *Oḍiyā* (= Oṛiyā), and in Anglo-Indian *Oriya*.

When did the Aryan language penetrate into Orissa ? We have spoken about the two routes of its passage from North India to this State, one from Magadha and West Bengal, and the other from Kosala and Maha-Kosala. With the establishment of the Maurya rule, the language of the Patalipura court also naturally became established as the official language (or at least as the language of the chancery) at Patna, and in all likelihood there the edicts of the Maurya emperor were drafted and published. But although these were published in this language in Orissa and in most other parts of India (excepting in the Western and North-Western regions, where local dialects were employed), we cannot say that it was at that time (i.e. 3rd century B. C.) the language of the people of the country. There are examples all over the world that the language of an old inscription

and an old document found in a particular country is not necessarily the language which was in use among the masses. It could very frequently be the speech of a ruling or dominating minority. This is equally borne out in Orissa itself. In the next century after Asoka, the Khāravēla inscription showed a different dialect, and that dialect came from Western Uttar Pradesh, evidently *via* the Maha-Kosala country, as the language of the Jaina scholars and others who, it may be surmised, came from the city of Mathura to the court of Khāravēla. So inspite of these inscriptions, whether of Asoka or of Khāravēla, we cannot assert that here we have positive evidence that the Aryan language was established as a language of the local people, or that the speakers of Aryan had come in large numbers and established themselves among the original non-Aryan-speaking peoples, and both imposed their language on them, and also through intermarriage and by the creation of a mixed people found a place for their language. We should also consider carefully the observations of Hiuen Ts'ang with regard to the language of the Oḍra and the Koṅgoda peoples of Orissa in his time.

The spread of the Aryan language has more or less followed the same pattern all over India. An Aryan-speaking group establishes itself in some part of the country among non-Aryan speakers. It becomes the focus of influence for a new culture and a new civilisation, of which this language (both as Sanskrit and as Prakrit) is the vehicle. People round about, particularly the upper classes, first pick up the Aryan language while retaining their native speech, and thus become bilingual. The prestige of the Aryan speech has a tremendous influence, and gradually this speech drives to the wall the non-Aryan language of the less exalted masses. In this way the Aryan language carves out a place for itself, which is extending itself as a matter of course at the expense of the earlier non-Aryan language or languages. The same thing can only be expected to have happened in Orissa also. The presence of pre-Aryan peoples is noted not only by the flourishing groups of ancient pre-Aryan tribes in Orissa, but also even in the heart of the Oriya-speaking country we have

traces of the older language or languages—Dravidian and Austric languages—in place-names. A list of the pre-Aryan toponomy in Orissa, as much as in Bengal and other parts of Aryan India, would be *Sprachgut* or linguistic material of very great value in studying pre-Aryan conditions in Orissa.

As illustrations of the type of our inscriptional toponomical material for studying the pre-Aryan background of Orissa, during the first millennium A.D., we have village and area names (taken at random) like the following (in all these names, single *v* was pronounced as *b* initially, and either as *b* or as *w* intervocally) :

Village *Vaka-vedda* in *Oṅgatala* Viṣaya ; *Lei-śṛṅga*, *Oḍayan-śṛṅga*, *Koṅkaleḍḍa*, *Lipatuṅga*, *Raṇḍa*, *Alaṇḍala*, *Pova*, *Tuleṇḍā*, in *Sandana* Viṣaya ; *Marañja*, *Miora*, *Santovarda*, *Khaṇḍa*, *Bhranda* Viṣaya, *Tulakajja*, *Sanula* Viṣaya, *Marada* Viṣaya, *Nivinda* village, *Ganutapata* Maṇḍala, *Maramenda* village, *Bhataparoli*, *Luttaruma* village, *Gidanda* Maṇḍala, *Kelga-Attenda*, *Vuvrada*, *Garasambha*, *Khidinga-hara* Viṣaya, *Toro*, *Vendumga*, Viṣaya, *Vamaitalla*, *Tuṅkara* Viṣaya, *Khijiṅga*, *Konatinthi*, *Khiñjali* Maṇḍala, *Tamadira*, *Valla-śṛṅga*, *Mijupadi*, *Rayara* Viṣaya, *Tundurava*, *Ramalauva* Viṣaya, *Vañjulvaka*, *Tadisama* Viṣaya, *Tasapai-kera*, *Kumunu-keta*, *Tullasidga* Viṣaya, *Siddha-himva*, *Koloda*, *Jharavada*, *Kolamponka*; *Koṅkala*-khaṇḍa, *Jara*, *Gudda* Viṣaya, *Cakivadi*, *Puipina*, *Remuna Kalambora* Viṣaya, *Sailo* Viṣaya, *Saivira* Viṣaya, *Yanba* (=*Janwa*)-*appati*-grāma, *Vasdrama* village, *Sarpadalo* village, *Pannati*, *Ucbha-pada*, *Yaitra-pada*, *Jaṅkhera* Andido-grāma, *Vahida*-khaṇḍa-kṣetra, *Medamada*, *Murada*, *Padadhvava*, *Ravaṅga-Alasana*, etc., etc.

There are elements in these and similar names which are Aryan (Prakrit and Sanskrit), but most of the names like the above are outside of the Aryan orbit. Thus, *vedda*, *edda*, *padi* or *pati*, *kera* or *keta* look like non-Aryan elements. A thorough study of these unexplained place-names from inscriptions, together with other linguistic data both from the current Orissan place-names and other sources, is a desideratum in Indian historical and cultural studies. A good knowledge of the historical linguistics of Dravidian and Austric (Munda or Kol) is a *sine qua non* for instituting an

enquiry into the subject, and a mere acquaintance with Sanskrit, Prakrit and the *Bhāshās* will not be enough.

We can note also personal names like *Allava* and *Rāccho*, which may be Aryan, and Aryan words and formations like *Ojjha* (=*Upādhyāya*), *Tasta-kāra* and *Tattha-kāra* "copper-smith" (=Persian *tašt* "plate"+*kara*, *kāra*="maker": cf. Modern Hindi *ṭhaṭherā* "brass or coppar worker"); and Aryan place-names like *Brāhmaṇa-vasti*, *Dāru-khaṇḍi*, *Vāsudeva-khaṇḍa*, *Uttara-pallī*.*

At the present day, we find how Oriya is slowly receiving the homage of various Austric and Dravidian speaking peoples with their primitive cultures—the Aborigines or *Ādivāsīs*. A Kandh or a Savara, a Parji or a Santal who is within the pale of Oriya influence, has to become bilingual within the State. And from being bilingual in Oriya and his own native Dravidian or Austric speech, it will be easy for him to become monolingual in Oriya alone. This will inevitably lead to his being absorbed in the Oriya-speaking people, although his special identity may be kept up for some generations in a specialised caste. In the same way, Bengali-speaking Santals who are not Christians are slowly becoming recognised as Hindus of the "Santal Caste". Many Santal Christians are also feeling proud of their Santal origins and their Santal tribal or sept names. Progressive Aryanisation of North India in speech is one of the greatest features in the synthesis of Aryan and non-Aryan into a composite single people in the different parts of North India.

Dialects of Māgadhī Prakrit and Apabhraṁśa came in successive centuries from the time of Asoka (or even earlier) during the formative stages of the Oriya people. These Aryan-speakers, at the time when the Prakrits were slowly changing through the Apabhraṁśa into the Modern *Bhāshās*, did not in these early centuries recognise the value of the

---

* See in this connexion "Telugu and other Dravidian Words in the Jagannatha Temple Inscriptions (in Sanskrit and Oriya)"—some 324 words—edited and published by Pandit Sadasiva Ratha in the *Prajātantra* weekly, about 1960.

language they spoke in daily life. Almost everybody among the upper classes studied Sanskrit, and it was recognised as the language of both Gods and Sages, and Heroes and Men. Hence we do not have any inscriptions or writings in the earliest period of the Modern Indo-Aryan languages, standing on the border-line between Prakrit and Apabhraṁśa and the modern *Bhāshā*. It was when the *Bhāshās* or the spoken languages became sufficiently differentiated from the earlier Prakrits and Apabhraṁśa, and came to be still farther removed from Sanskrit, that the desire for general intelligibility brought in a use of the developing modern Indo-Aryan *Bhāshās* or vernacular languages for literary purposes, both religious and secular. But Sanskrit words in their correct or modified spelling began to be imported very largely into these developing *Bhāshās*.

This fact, namely, the use of the local New Indo-Aryan speech, as it was taking shape, gave the seal to the formation of a local "Small Nation", so to say, within the bigger Unit of the Hindu or Indian People, or the Hindu or Indian Nation. The date of the oldest specimens of Oriya (as of other New Indo-Aryan languages) would indicate the time when this became an accomplished fact: roughly, it appears to have been round about 1000 A.D.

II. THE ORIYA LANGUAGE — ITS EARLY HISTORY

The Aryan speach was first brought into India by the Aryan invaders round about the middle of the second millennium before Christ, and it would appear that this happened not earlier than 1500 B.C. The language which was in use among the various Aryan tribes who came to India from outside, like the Bharatas, the Madras, the Kāśis, the Tritsus, the Yadus, the Kurus, the Śibis, the Kṛvis, etc., was not a single speech, but it was a group of dialects of the same language which were closely related to each other, and in some cases had some special characteristics. In phonetics, one such characteristic was that there were some dialects which had both the *r* and *l* sounds of Primitive Indo-European, whereas others (which belonged specifically to the western part of Indian Aryandom—present-day Panjab and the North-Western Frontier) had only *r*, and no *l*; while a third group of dialects had only *l* and no *r*. This third group belonged to the Eastern frontiers of the early Aryan settlers in India. In the *Brāhmaṇa* works, we hear of three main groups of Aryan-speakers, and that was during the period 800 to 500 B.C. These were, (1) the Northern or North-Western group (the *Udīcya*), (2) the group living in what was later on known as "the Midland", corresponding to present-day Eastern Panjab and Western U.P. (*Madhya-dēśīya*), and (3) the Eastern, known to ancient writers as *Prācya*. Over and above these three, possibly there other groups also, but they were not so prominent or characterised. We can assume that there was a *Dākṣiṇātya* or Southern group also. All these groups of Aryan-Speakers had some dialectical peculiarities or modifications, which became more and more accentuated as the centuries passed. By about the middle of the first millennium B.C., the Aryan-speaking tract in India was characterised by a number of dialectical areas which were quite well-marked—the Northern and North-Western dialect area including the North-Western Frontier and Western and Central Panjab;

the Midland area which comprised Eastern Panjab, Western U. P. and probably also the contiguous parts of present-day Rajasthan and Malwa; and the Eastern area which embraced the districts of present-day Eastern U.P. to the East of Kanpur right up to Bengal. The North-Western area also extended, it would appear, to Sindh. The Southern area occupied the tracts corresponding to Northern Maharashtra—a good part of present-day Maharashtra was about this period inhabited by Dravidian tribes, the ancestors of the Kannada-speakers of the present day. Then there were Indo-Aryan dialects spoken by the Khasa and other tribes who had settled in the Sub-Himalayan tracts to the east of Kashmir. The Eastern area of the Aryan speech was further bifurcated, in the centuries immediately before Christ, into two zones with certain definite linguistic developments marking each—a Western zone, and an Eastern zone. The area where the Eastern form of this Prācya dialect became characterised was, to start with, the Videha and Magadha tracts, i.e. North and South Bihar, and it has now been considered suitable to give the names of these two linguistic modifications of the ancient Eastern speech after the names of the areas which they occupied—Kosalī or the language of the old tract of Kosala (and Mahā-Kosala to the South and South-East of Kosala), and Māgadhī.

When exactly the Aryan speech in the form of a Māgadhī dialect spread further to the East in Bengal, and then to the South-East in Orissa, we do not clearly know. It may be just likely that groups of Aryan-speakers from Magadha and from further West were coming to settle among the pre-Aryan peoples of Bengal, and from there it was spreading into Orissa. At first the Aryan Māgadhī would be confined to the settlers from Aryan-speaking tracts who came to this area, which was inhabited from the beginning almost entirely by Austric and Dravidian speakers. The pre-Christian culture of Bengal and Orissa belongs to the same orbit as that of Northern India, but to what extent the Aryan language had spread to Bengal and Orissa during pre-Christian centuries we do not know. From the Maurya times, and very likely

even before that, during the time of the Nandas for instance, merchants, soldiers, Buddhist and Jaina monks and missionaries, Brahman priests and scholars, as well as men of humbler classes, were passing eastward from Northern India in search of a living and a habitation. They were the persons who brought the Aryan speech into Bengal and Orissa and helped to establish it there, both by colonisation and by passing the language on to the local peoples. And this was also largely effected by intermarriage and racial fusion between the immigrating Aryan-speakers and the local pre-Aryan peoples. In this the upper classes among the Aryans freely participated, to give rise to a mixed people of Aryan speech.

We can see how this process was at work from the 3rd century B. C. Asoka's empire was well-established in ancient Orissa—in Kaliṅga. He had to fight with the Kaliṅga people to bring them completely under his rule. The war was long and sanguinary, and the sufferings of the people, combined with all-round death and destruction and removal of people from their homes, created a great impression on the mind of Asoka, and helped to bring about his conversion to the ideas of *Ahiṁsā* or Non-Injury, and of an empire ruled by the principles of *Dharma* or Righteousness. We find Asoka's inscriptions in Dhauli and Jaugada in the Orissa tract. The speech used in these inscriptions was evidently the court dialect of Pataliputra, the capital in Magadha ; and this dialect, it may be assumed, was making headway in both Bengal and Orissa. The local names of places, however, are even now to a large extent of Austric and Dravidian origin, and these Dravidian and Austric place-names have generally been continued and preserved, even though the people accepted the Aryan speech. Of course, with the wear and tear of centuries, the original forms of these pre-Aryan place-names have become profoundly modified. As mentioned before, even the rulers of the powerful dynasty of *Cētis* or *Mahā-mēgha-vāhanas* of Orissa in the second century B.C.—Kūdepa, Vaḍukha and Khāravēla, were in all likelihood Dravidian. The Aryan language in the third century B.C. was

perhaps confined to the Magadhan garrison and officialdom in Orissa, and also among the merchants and Brahmans, Jain and Buddhist priests and scholars who came from Magadha, Kosala and Madhya-dēśa: and the lower officials, state employees, businessmen, and such other people of the locality who had dealings with the Maurya government from Magadha, had to pick up the language of the rulers as it was the language both of the administration and of a higher and better organised culture. But the masses would not appear to have become Aryan-speaking as a people, in the third century B.C. The Aryan language was virtually, so far as the Austric- and Dravidian-speaking people of the area were concerned, an imposition from outside. After the end of the Maurya dynasty, a local princely family came into prominence and established a new ruling house—that of Cetis. They were, as suggested above, Dravidian-speakers. But in the long inscription of Khāravēla, the most powerful king of this native line, we find the Aryan speech in use. But this Aryan speech is a different dialect from the Magadhan of Asoka. As it is well-known, the Aryan dialect used by Khāravēla has greater affinities with Pali on the one hand and Śauraseni Prakrit of Mathura on the other. Khāravēla's Prakrit, again, could not have been a language spoken locally. It evidently was a settlers' speech, or even an official 'speech, which was established in the court of Khāravēla, and possibly also in his exchequer, through the presence of his Jaina teachers and preachers who came from Mathura side. Khāravēla was a Jaina, and at that time Mathura was a very important centre of the Jaina religion and culture. The language of Mathura, through the influence of Jaina religious men and scholars, was established in the court of Khāravēla, and this is the only explanation possible for the occurrence in Orissa, as an official language, of the Eastern Magadhan Prakrit of Pataliputra in the third century B.C., and the Midland Prakrit of Mathura from the second century B.C.

By about the middle of the first millennium A.D., Orissa, as much as Bengal, had become largely Aryan in speech, particularly in the lower reaches of the river-system of Orissa

along the sea coast. Hiuen Ts'ang's observations in this regard have been referred to before. It would appear that both Aryan and non-Aryan speakers were living side by side, peacefully, as they are doing now in Orissa itself and also in the border-land between Orissa and Andhra Pradeśa. As a contrast with present-day post-Independence India, there was not much of a linguistic consciousness or exclusiveness in ancient and mediaeval times in India, and tolerance and even acceptance of another language or use of two languages side by side was the common practice. But from after the middle of the first millennium A.D., the Aryan language began to spread very largely and very rapidly, particularly when the ruling houses one after the other in succession adopted it. The Aryan language was moreover looked upon as the vehicle of a higher civilisation claiming the homage of all sections of the people, Aryan and non-Aryan. From the Orissan inscriptions in Sanskrit from the 6th century A.D. right down to late mediaeval times, we find non-Aryan place-names to be quite common, as we have noted before. But slowly Aryan names were coming up; and with Brahman settlers introducing the Aryan language among the people, and Sanskrit particularly becoming established as the only language of religion and culture, these Aryan names and vocables are found to be on the increase. The names of ordinary people are in many cases non-Aryan and not explicable through Sanskrit or Prakrit, but Prakrit and Sanskrit Aryan names are also showing a steady increase. This indicates the wider and still wider acceptance of the Aryan speech as the language of the people in the country-side also. From names of places and persons as well as occupations, it is quite clear that a kind of proto-Oriya, as it was developing in Orissa from the Māgadhī dialect of Prakrit and Apabhraṁśa, which came to Orissa by way of Eastern Bihar and Western Bengal, was getting to be established in the land. This proto-Oriya, as a special development in Orissa, coincided, one might say, with the late Māgadhī Apabhraṁśa period and continued right down to about the end of the first millennium A.D.

The oldest specimens of Oriya as the proper Prakritic language or *Bhāshā* of Orissa consist in the first instance of a very limited number of words which are found scattered in Orissan inscriptions in Sanskrit. Adequate lists of these words have not yet been made, but they will give us some very valuable speech-material for the study of the development of Oriya. The specimens of Oriya literature, such as we now have, do not go back to a period beyond the 12th century A.D. The oldest books in Oriya are the *Śiśu-veda* and the *Saptāṅga*, which are works belonging to the Nātha cult of late Mahāyāna Buddhism impregnated with Siva-worship and Yoga practices and philosophy. But it is doubtful that these books are authentic, and they cannot, in their present language (if not in spirit), go back to the 12th or 13th century. It has been found that the *Rudra-sudhā-nidhi* of Avadhūta Nārāyaṇa Svāmī, which is a prose work of both religious and romantic character, has been referred to the 13th century by most Oriya scholars. But this has not been established without any doubt. The genuine remains of Oriya in literary documents of the oldest period that we have are the *Mahābhārata* of Sāraḷā Dāsa, which has been attributed to the 13th century, and the *Keśava Kōiḷi* which is slightly later than the *Mahābhārata* of Sāraḷā Dāsa.

The *Caryā-padas*, now generally accepted as being in Old Bengali, which have been preserved in manuscripts from Nepal, consist of a number of lyrics—about 47—which are in a language which has also been claimed to be Old Oriya as well as Old Assamese and Old Maithili, as much as Old Bengali. There are connexions of some of the late Mahāyāna Buddhist "Siddha" writers, who are authors of the *Caryā-padas*, with Orissa. As a matter of fact, the language represents a stage of speech which is very much akin to what we would conceive to be Old Oriya or Old Assamese as much as Old Bengali. There are certain special forms, e.g. in the base for the verb in the past tense and in the future, respectively *-il-* and *-ib-*, which belong to the Bengali-Assamese-Oriya group of the Magadhan dialects. But, as it has been discussed elsewhere, the general agreement is more with Bengali than

with Oriya and Assamese; and of course Maithili is far-cry from the speech of the *Caryā-padas*—although, owing to the manuscript having been copied in Nepal, where Maithili was also known and studied, there are one or two Maithili forms. For the present, we can only leave the question partially open, and make a statement that the language of the *Caryā-padas* is the oldest specimen of a speech which comes nearest to what may be described as Old Oriya and Old Assamese, although the specific Bengali character in the grammar and forms, and in the general atmosphere of the literature itself, has got to be noted.

The oldest *contemporary* documents of the fully-formed Oriya language go back to the second half of the 13th century, begining with the Bhānu-deva (1263-1269) inscription formed in the Lakshmi-Narasiṁha Temple at Siṁhāchalam, but the language there is halting and not yet fully developed. The anthenticity of these is also doubted. I shall speak about two other inscriptions, supposedly older, later on. The most important early document of Old Oriya preserved in a *contemporary* inscription, where the language is already quite advanced, is in the bi-lingual (Tamil-Oriya) inscription of King Narasiṁha-Deva IV, and this goes back towards the end of the 14th century A.D. (See *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXXII, "Bhubaneswar Inscription of Gaṅga Narasiṅgha", pp. 229-238, No. 29, edited and translated by D. C. Sircar and K.G. Krishnan). Here we have an entire inscription of 34 lines in Oriya. The language is genuine Oriya, which is already quite a developed speech, and undoubtedly takes its stand on some centuries of Oriya linguistic history. Earlier than the Narasiṁha-Deva IV Inscription of 1396 A.D., we have the Puri Inscriptions of Anaṅga-bhīma-Deva III of 1226 A.D. and 1237 A.D.—some 160 years before—which can also be taken to be in Oriya, but barring a few words with Oriya terminations, these inscriptions are in a kind of loose Sanskrit, and we have no proper lines of continuous Oriya: e.g. *senāpatiṅka, devaṅku, manaṅkai, gocareṁ, devaṅka, naibedya-kai, devaṅkai*; see *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXX, 1953-54, No. 34, pp. 197 ff.: "The Puri inscriptions of Anaṅga-bhīma-Deva III, Saka 1147 and 1158", by D.C. Sircar).

The inscription of Narasiṁha-Deva IV is also valuable from social as well as religious points of view, but in its language it can be looked upon as our *earliest continuous contemporary* document in Oriya. This inscription runs as follows.

Oriya Text of the Narasiṁha-Deva IV Inscription

In the trascription as given by Dr. Dinesh Chandra Sircar in the *Epigraphia Indica*, as reproduced below, it is to be noted that the *antastha va*, except when it is the second element in a consonant-group·(and then it could be pronounced as *w*), was always pronounced as *b*, particularly in native *tadbhava* words and forms, like *Vaḍa = Baḍa*, *Bāghamarā*, *Bārabāṭi*, *bhīkṣa debā*, *bandhā kalā*, *boli*, *karāiba* and the root *bart*. In the transcription given below, this *v* has been printed as *b*, and a few other changes linguistically necessary have been brought in the orthography.

1. Siddham Swasta (= sti) śrī-Bira-Nara-nārasiṅgha-deba-
2. sa prabradhamāne va(= vi)ye-rājē (= bīje-rāje) sa-
3. mbata 22 śrāhī Kātrīka-kṛṣṇa 7 Rabi-bā-
4. re śrī-Kīttibāsa-khetraṁ Sidhe-
5. swara-madhara Baḍa-Narasīṅgha-deba-
6. ṅkara āśa(= āyuṣa)-kāmârtha-pūrabbake (= pūrbaka)
7. Bāghamarā Bāra-bāṭī bhūmī ekāda-
8. śa-Rudra-bhīkṣa debā bhūmī samaṁ-
9. dhe Taparāja-māhāmunī Dūggā-
10. bhaṭa-ācāyaṅkai baṁdhā kalā e
11. māḍha śata-deḍha 150 Utreswa-
12. ra-nāekaṅkaia tahū ghetalā
13. e māḍha dasa dhānya-pai(= pau)ṭī trīḥ-
14. seka Taparāja-māhī (= hā)mūnī e du-
15. i dhānya sūnā Dūggābhaṭe Utresa-
16. ra-nāekaṅkai dei aṅka kalā ekauti e
17. dhāna sūnā mūḷa kaḷantara karante māḍha
18. śateka asī 180 Taparāja-mūnī sī-
19. wa prāphte (= prāpte) Tapacakrabatī sthāna-pati-ho-
20. īlā e Tapacakrabatīṅkara Dūggabhaṭa-ā-

21. cāyaṅkara rāsi Dūggabhaṭa-ācā[r]ye
22. sūnī eka-rāsi bolī maitra-pakṣa ho-
23. ilā e Bāghamarā bhūmī Bāra-bāṭī pha-
24. ḷa-bhogya asīā-satake kīlākai
25. Tapacakrawatīki hātharaī Dūggābha-
26. ṭa-ācāye pāṇī dhīlā e śrī-Bīra-
27. Naranārasa (=si)ṅgha-dewaṅkara auśa-kā-
28. m-ârthe ekādáśa-Rudra-bhīkṣa karāi-
29. bā e bhīkṣā Coḍa-desa Pāṇḍi-desa Kā-
30. ñcī-desa e tīnī dese jamīlā ho-
31. i Maḍāmaḍe dīkṣā karī āca[ra]-wanta
32. hoilā tāpasaṅka bhīkṣā jete
33. kāḷa ca(n)dra-sūjya brata eteka kāḷanka basa
34. bratibāka ṭha 22

(Translation by Dr. D. C. Sircar)

(Lines 1—4) May there be success ! In the increasingly victorious reign of the illustrious Vīra-Naranārasiṁha-deva—Year 22, Kārttika-kṛishṇa 7, Sunday.

(Lines 4—18) Formerly (an area of) 12 Vāṭīs of land (at) Vāghamarā was granted as Ekādaśa-Rudra-bhikshā in favour of the Siddheśvara-maṭha at the illustrious Kṛittivāsa-kshetra (i.e. Bhubaneswar) for the longevity and (fulfilment of) the desires of the elder Narasiṁha-deva. As to (this) land, (it) was mortgaged by Taporāja-mahāmuni to Durgābhaṭṭāchārya. The (amount borrowed) was one hundred and fifty (gold) Māḍhas—150. (He also) borrowed from Uttareśvara-nāyaka. (In) this (case), ten (gold) Māḍhas and thirty Pauṭis of paddy. Having deoposited these two (items, viz.) paddy (and) gold (that had been borrowed by) Taporāja-mahāmuni, to Uttareśvara-nāyaka, Durgābhaṭṭa-āchārya calculated the sum (payable to him by Taporāja-mahāmuni). On the paddy and gold being considered together (and) the capital and interest being calculated (the whole amount was found to be) one hundred and eighty (gold) Māḍhas—180.

(Lines 18-26) When Taporāja-muni obtained Śiva (i.e. died), Tapaśchakravartin became the sthāna-pati (i.e. head of the Maṭha). This Tapaśchakravartin's *rāśi* (i.e. the constellation

under which he was born) was the same as that of Durgābhaṭṭa-āchārya. Having learnt (this), Durgābhaṭṭa-āchārya became a friendly party (to Tapaśchakravartin) because (both of them) belonged to the same *rāśi*. Durgābhaṭṭa-āchārya poured water in the hands of (i.e. made a ceremonial offering in favour of) Tapaśchakravartin in respect of the written (document) involving one hundred and eighty (gold coins) and entitling (him) to enjoy the said twelve Vāṭis of land (at) Vāghamarā.

(Lines 26-34) (He declared that) the said (land) be made Ekādaśa-Rudra-bhikshā for the longevity and (fulfilment of) the desires of the illustrious Vīra-Naranārasiṁha-deva. This Bhikshā is meant for the ascetics who are born in the three countries, viz. Choḍa-deśa, Pāṇḍya-deśa and Kāñchī-deśa, and who have obtained initiation in the various Maṭhas (of those) countries) and become (strict) followers of the *ācāras* (prescribed for the Māheśvaras.) (This) Bhikshā is to last for so long a time as the sun and the moon will exist."

There are certain forms in the above inscription which are very characteristic of Oriya no doubt, but they represent something which we do not find in later Oriya ; and they are just intermediate forms, linking up the Māgadhī Apabhraṁśa source of Oriya with the early Oriya of literature. Thus we can note forms like the following :

nāekaṅ-kai, *kīlā-kai*, *hātha-raï*, which represent a sont of half-way house between the earlier **nāyakaṅ-kahi*, **kīla-kahi*, **hātha-rahi* and the latter forms in *-ke*, *-re*.

Another fairly old specimen of Oriya which has been found, not in a contemporary epigraph, as in the case of the above specimen, but which has been preserved in much later documents, may be referred to here. In its substance, this specimen of Old Oriya is most certainly genuine, and it has many interesting aspects from various points of view. This is the famous speech put in the mouth of king Anaṅga-Bhīma-Deva III (1211-1238 A.D) before his Princes and his Officers, which has been preserved in the *Mādaḷā Pāñji* or "the Drum Chronicie" of the happenings at the Jagannātha temple. The *Mādaḷā Pāñji* is a work which, among other matters, professes to give the history of the Jagannātha Temple at Puri from

before its foundation, and then after its foundation, through the centuries, right down to late mediaeval times. It is believed to have started as early as the 12th century A.D. when the temple of Jagannātha at Puri was erected (or, rather, rebuilt on the foundations of an earlier structure), and slightly later than the completion of the temple towards the end of the 12th century may be the account given of this event. The manuscript of the temple records on palm-leaf has been preserved in three rescensions, and there is a substantial agreement among them about the events which are narrated. A very noteworthy passage in the *Mādaḷā Pāñji*, which may thus go back to the 12th century, is the reported speech of King Anaṅga-Bhīma Deva III before his Officers and Feudatories when he was discussing his plan to rebuild the temple of Jagannātha. Anaṅga-Bhīma Deva III traditionally is looked upon in present-day Orissa as the builder of the great temple of Jagannātha at Puri. But actually the temple was built (or started to be built) by the great Gaṅga emperor, who was a great soldier, a conqueror, a builder and an administrator as well as a man of faith in his God, viz. Ananta-varman Coḍa-gaṅga Deva (1078-1147). A great Telugu ruler from the south, he conquered Orissa and extended the boundaries of his empire north, south and west. He became a Vaishṇava and a devotee of Jagannātha at Puri, and it is very likely that the temple, which was started to be erected (or re-built on older foundations) by him in the first half of the 12th century, was in all probability extended by his son Aniyaṅka or Anaṅga-Bhīma Deva II (1190-1196 A.D.); and the temple was finally completed by his great-grandson Anaṅga-Bhīma Deva III (c. 1211-1238 A.D.). The speech originally might very well have been from Ananta-varman Coḍa-gaṅga Deva himself; and as such, it may be looked upon as piece of Oriya composition or a record of a speech of the 1st half of the 12th century, although preserved in much later documents. The internal evidence, the truth and genuineness of the sentiments expressed, and the atmosphere of the mind of a conqueror, a ruler devoted to his god and possessing high ideals of service to his people, as well as the personality of an administrator and a builder

would certainly suggest that it was Ananta-varman Coḍa-gaṅga Deva's. The use of Oriya for state purposes, particularly in addressing the people, as early as the 12th century, is quite interesting, and it unconsciously carries on the tradition of Asoka and Khāravela.

The text of this speech, as edited by Prof. Artavallabha Mahanti, is given below, with an English translation. (For better understanding, it has been split up in small paragraphs with suggested punctuation.)

(From the *Mādaḷā Pāñjī*, ed. Dr. Artavallabha Mahanti, *Prācī Samiti*, pp. 28-39.)

Rāja-bhoga-itihāsa.

Bho bhaviṣya mahārja-māne,
debatā-brāhmaṇa-n-ku, baḷa-bhāṇḍara-ku, rāja-nīti-caya-ku madhya-kari mu jemanta prakāre bhiāṇa kari deu achi,
ethiki tumhe-māne na puṇi bola—se dei gale, āmbhara ki hoilā, āmbhe kimpa dabu,
emanta na boliba.
e 3 Oḍiśā-rāija, je Keśari-rājā-māna-ṅ-ku ādi kari Gaṅga-baṃśe āmbha capāṭa sariki rajya āe heu thilā,
pūrba dige Arka-kṣetra somodra-tīra-ṭhāru paścime bhima-nagara-daṇḍa-pāṭa sariki, dakṣiṇe āe heu thilā dakṣiṇe mahodadhi—uttara-tīra-ṭhāru Kāṁśa-Bāṁśa sariki dakṣiṇe āe heu thilā.
Uttare Kāāṁsa Bāāṁsa ṭhāru dakṣiṇe Ṛṣikoila nadī sariki,
jita sunā pandara-lakṣa māḍhe ehi khaṇḍa-maṇḍala hoi āe hou thilā.
emanta rājya Śrī-Jagannātha-mahāprabhu-ṅ-ka padāra-binda-prasāde brāhmaṇa-mānaṅ-kara kalyāṇe khaṇḍāre jaśa kari bhūiāṃ purāṇa-mānaṅ-ku jaya kari āe kalu.
Uttara-dige Kāāṁsa-bāāṁsa-ṭhāru Danāi buḍi-nai sariki dakṣiṇe āe kalu.
Uttara-dige Kāāṃsa-bāāṃsa-ṭhāru Danāi buḍi-nái sariki dakṣiṇe āe kalu.

Ṛṣikoila-nadī-ṭhāru Rājamahindra-daṇḍa-pāṭa sariki paścime āe kalu Bhīma-nagara-daṇḍa-pāta-thāru Baüda-sīmā Sunupuna sariki.
e tina digaru rāija āe kali jita sunā 20 lakṣa māḍha.
gae dui pada-ku jita sunā 35 lakṣa māḍha āe hoilā-ku debatā-brāhmaṇa-ku, nānā niyoga-ku, baḷa poṣibā-ku, rājanīti-ki bhaṇḍāra saribāku, nānā bae-ku madhya-kari bhiāṇa kari delu.
bho Mahārāja-māne,
tumbhe-māne ehā anyathā na kariba :
harilāra tini pāpa śruti-smṛti-bacana-māna-re sunu thiba.
etha-ku tumbha-māne jeBe baḷīyāra-pana kari lobha-baśa-re hariba, tebe, Śri-Jagannátha-mahāprabhuṅ-ka śri-caraṇa-ku droha kalā-ru je pāpa, tāhā pāiba.
muṃ jāhā jauṃ prakāre bhiāṇa kari deu achi, debatā-brāhmaṇaṅ-ku bhoga karāi se prakāre paripāḷana karu thiba.
ṣāānta-mānaṅ-ku kaüḍi bhāga baratana, māhunta-mānaṅ-ku daśa māsa ṭaṅkā baratana, bāṇuā pāika-mānaṅ-ku daśa-māsi bhūmi bhāge ohori baratana, niyoga-sebaka-mānaṅ-ku āu samaata-sebaka-mānaṅ-ku madhya-kari bhūmi-re jita sunā barttana dei paribāra poṣu thiba.
bhaṇḍāra saribā-ku jeuṃ prakāre rājya-ru ghenibā-ku bhiāilā achi, se prakāre bhaṇḍāra saru-thiba.
rājya jauṃ prakāra bhūiṃ bhalire māḍha mūla kari sunā bhiāilā achi,
sehi prakāre puṣṭi naṣṭi dekhi, kara gheni, parajāṅ-ku paripāḷana kari, pṛthibī bhoga kari, sukhe swarga-ku jiba.
bho mahārāja-māne,
sabu-ṭharu dharmma-hiṁ se kāraṇa.
rājya-ru emanta mudala-karāi patra-mānaṅ-ku emanta ājñā dele.
bhūyām purāṇa-ṃānaṅ-ku bhuja-re jaya kari rājya jiṇi ānilā.
bāhare (? tāhare) je bhaṇḍāra dhana-māna aṇā hoilā, sunā 40 lakṣa māḍha ratana-māna āṇi hoilā.
mūla-pramāṇe māḍha 7 lakṣa 88 hajāra. gae dui pada-ku māḍha la 478800 kṣa āṇi hoilā.

e āmhara arajita padārtha.

ethuṃ āmhe thokāe Prameśwaraṅ-ka āḍatire lagāibā-ku etha-ku āmbhe-māne emanta kalpanā kari achu :

Jajāti-rājā jouṃ pāṭala toḷāi Prameśwara-ku bije karāi achanti, se pāṭala goṭika ati baiṣama hoilā.

ehā bhāṅgi śae hātha ucce prāsāda goṭie toḷāibā Parameśwaraṅ-ku. āyatana-bhitara debatā-mānaṅ-kara deuḷa goṭā-mānā āna kari toḷāibā.

etha-ku thokāe sunā daba :
Prameśwaraṅ-ku tuḍāumāna ghaṭani (khaṭani) jogāḍa-mānaṅ-ku madhya kari thokāe sunā thokāē ratana debā, emanta āmbhe bicāri achu.
etha-ku pātra-māne jaṇāile—
"deo, emanta jebe bicāribā hoi acha, eḍe hoilā (hoitā ?) kathā nāhiṁ.
e kathā-ku baḍa bega abadhāna heu : dharmasya twaritā gati—dharmma bicārile baḍa bega kari.
ete kebaḷa jaṇāü achu, prāsāda je śae hātha ucce kariba boli bicāribā hoi acha. śarīra nitya nohai, e aniti deha. e bahuta kāḷa lāgiba. ethuṃ dasa hatha (hata) tuḷi naü hātha (hāta) hoi prāsāda hoile, beḍa bega hoiba."
etha-ku rājā a āgyāṃ dele,
"bicāribā-ru tuṭile, dosa hoiba parā."
etha-ku pātra-māne jaṇāile,
"deo, bighna hoi rahile, se sabu-hiṁ asāra hoiba."
etha-ku ṭhākure āgyāṃ dele,
"hou, naü hātha ucce prāsāda hou. emanta-ku śilpī-śāstra-māna dekha, keuṃ prāsāda hele Biṣṇu-jogya."
etha-ku bhaṭṭa-miśra-māne kahile,
"prāsāda je chatiśa prakāre.
etha-ku koḍie prakāre prāsāda śreṣṭha, ethi-bhitaru śri-bascha-khaṇḍasāla hoi jouṃ prāsāda, se prāsāda Harira baḍa priya."
ehā suṇi rajāe āgyāṃ dele,
"ehi prāsāda ucca karāibā"
etha-ku deuḷa toḷā-ku dele parama-haṁsa rāja poi mūḷe sunā 10 lakṣa Prameśwararaṅ-ka alaṅkāra-ku sunā

2 lakṣa 50 hajāra māḍha. gae dui pada-ku sunā māḍha 12 lakṣa 50 hajāra e deuḷa toḷā ku śubha dele.
15 aṅka phaguṇa śukla daśamī tatkāḷa ekādaśī guru-bāra beḷa 14 daṇḍa kari Prameśwaraṅ-ku sampūrṇe bṛṣa lagne abhijita muhūrte toḷāi deuḷe pratiṣṭhā bije karāi bhoga maḍa phuli bhiāïle.

The use of the Persian word *hazār* as *hajāra*='thousand' in this old document is quite interesting, but this loan-word from the Persian-using Turki conquerors of North India in the 12th century is quite likely.

A tentative translation of the above speech of the Gaṅga King of Orissa in connexion with the establishment of the temple of Jagannātha at Puri, probably first-half of the 12th century, is given below :

"O great kings of the future, about the manner in which I have settled the resources of the state among the Gods and the Brahmans, the Army and the Treasury, and of the various appurtenances of the State, you must not talk in this way :

" 'He gave, and he has passed away. But what is that for us? Why should we also give ?'—You will not speak in this way.

"These three Orissa states which we by force of arms have conquered from the rulers of the Kesari dynasty—they extend from the Arka-kshetra (or the Field of the Sun) in the East from the coast of the sea right up to Bhīma-nagara Daṇḍa-pāṭa, and in the south it extends from the Northern coast of the sea and the river Kāṁsa-Bāṁsa—in the North from the Kāṁsa-Bāṁsa right down to Ṛishikulyā river. The total income from this part of the territory was, in gold, 15 lakhs of *māḍhas*. Such a state we have won with our sword through the grace of the lotus-feet of the great Lord Śrī Jagannātha and also through the blessings of the Brahmans—we conquered all the earlier rulers. We have conquered all this area from the Kāṁsa-Bāṁsa river in the North to Danāi-buḍi river in the South, and from the Ṛishikulyā river right down to Rājā-mahendri Daṇḍa-pāṭa, and in the West from the Daṇḍa-pāṭa Bhīma-nagara to Sonpur up to the frontiers of Baüda.

"All the revenue income from these three areas which we have acquired amounts in gold to 20 lakhs of *mādhas*. From these two states the total income which accrued, namely, 35 lakhs of *mādhas* of gold, I have arranged to be spent for the service of the Gods and the Brahmans, for the various State Departments, for maintaining the Army, and for the State Reserve Funds, and for other miscellaneous expenses.

"O great kings : you must not violate this. There are three sins which come from forceful possession, and about these you must have heard the texts from scriptures (Śruti and Smṛiti). In this connexion, if you by showing physical violence and through greed take away these grants (made by me), then you will commit the great sin which is the result of doing sacrilege to the sacred feet of the Great Lord Śrī Jagannātha.

"But in whatever way I have arranged for the disposal (of these funds)—in this manner, by arranging for the service of of the Gods and the Brahmans, continue to follow the way as fixed by me. Give to the feudatory chiefs a share of the cash income, to the elephant-keepers give their salary in coins for ten months, and give to the archers and foot-soldiers rice from the land for ten months, and similarly to all other services and all employees of the State, and you will be paying them gold for their maintenance so that their families may be supported.

"In order to maintain the treasury and the arrangement I have made for revenue to be taken from the State, in the same manner continue to maintain the treasury ; and the State has been properly established, making the gold the basis of the State Finances. In the same manner by adjusting surpluses (*puṣṭi*) and deficits (*naṣṭi*) receive the revenue, and support the people ; and in this way, having divided the products of the earth and enjoyed it in all happiness, you will go to Heaven.

"O great rulers, of all things Righteousness (*Dharma*) alone is the only source. Having made these initial arrangements, this is the order which I have given to my officers. After having conquered with our arms this kingdom by defeating the old feudal lords, the stores and riches which we brought out

amounted to 40 lakhs of *māḍhas* of gold, besides jewels. All this amounts to a capital of 7 lakhs and 88 thousands of *māḍhas* of gold. So taking these two together (the original revenue and the fresh sums acquired), the amount came up to 47 lakhs and 88 thousand *māḍhas* of gold. All this wealth has been acquired by us. A part of this we have thought of dedicating to the service of the Supreme Lord (Jagannātha).

"The temple which was built by king Yayāti, where he had placed the Great Lord, namely Jagannātha, has now become dilapidated. We now wish to raise a palace or temple 100 cubits high for the Great Lord, namely Jagannātha. Within the temple precincts there will be built temples for other Gods. For this, some amount of gold is to be set apart (as endowment). We have thought of giving a certain amount of gold and jewels."

The courtiers hearing this told him : "Lord, nobody has even thought of doing such a great thing. This is not something which could be done easily. May this order be executed quickly. The movement of *Dharma* is very quick ; and if you think of *Dharma*, act with promptitude. We are only making it known to you that it has been decided to build a temple to the height of 100 cubits. But this physical body does not endure forever—this body is transitory. Quite a long time will be taken up for this. For this reason, if we lessen the height by ten—from ten cubits to nine cubits—then such a temple will be built very quickly."

Then the king expressed his view that if we turn down our previous decision, then something evil might happen.

Then the courtiers told him : "Lord, everything will become useless if some difficulty or obstruction happens to take place".

Then the king ordered : "So let it be (as you say). Let the temple be 9 cubits high. But in this matter, look into the treatises on arts and crafts, what kind of temple would be suitable for the God Vishnu."

Then the Bhaṭṭa-Miśras (temple *pandits*, experts in the *Śilpa-śāstra*) said : "About temples and palaces : they are of thirty-six kinds. Of these, structures of 20 kinds are the best,

and from amongst them, the temple of the type of *Śrivatsa Khaṇḍaśāla*, that is the most beloved of Hari, i.e. Vishnu".

Hearing this, the king gave orders that this kind of temple was to be set up ; and then he gave for the expenses of raising this structure the sum of 10 lakhs of *māḍhas* of gold, and for the jewellery of the great Lord (Jagannātha) two lakhs and 50 thousand *māḍhas*. So in all it amounted to 12 lakhs and 50 thousand *māḍhas*, for the building of the temple. This temple of the Supreme Lord was completed on the 15th Regnal Year, in the month of Phālguna, in the bright fortnight, on the 10th and then the 11th day of the moon, on Thursday, when it was 14 *daṇḍas* day-time, and the temple was set up during Vṛṣa lagna (sign of the Taurus) and Abhijit Muhūrta (eighth hour of the day, under the star *a* of the Constellation Lyra). Arrangements were made for the image to be set up and established, with all offerings and flowers and everything being got together.

[I am indebted to Prof. Dr. Kanhu Charan Misra of Ravenshaw College, Cuttack, for kindly supplying me with the transcription of this speech from the *Mādaḷā Pāñji* and for giving me a rough English translation of the closing portion.].

There is something very natural and personal about this speech which seems to assure its being substantially what the King Ananta-varman Coḍa-gaṅga Deva as a soldier and a conqueror might himself have said. This would appear to be a piece of genuine historical document, comparable with the inscription of the time of Narasimha Deva IV quoted above. These two passages in Old Oriya form two of the oldest specimens of prose in any modern New Indo-Aryan language. The style in the above passage from the *Mādaḷā Pāñji* is terse and vigorous, although a little rambling at places, but there is considerable economy and reticence, like what we do not find in later literature.

This speech has quite a ring of sincerity about it. It was delivered on a solemn occasion, when a great house of worship was to be erected by a grateful monarch for the

spiritual benefit of himself and of his people. Although such comparisons have no meaning, one cannot help thinking of the great speech of Pericles of Athens during the early stages of the Peloponnesian War which has been recorded by the Greek historian Thucydides. Ananta-varman Coḍa-gaṅga Deva's speech, as I take this to be, is not an inscription on stone or copper. But because of its personal atmosphere, it reminds one of some great inscriptions of a similar intimate and personal character. These great inscriptions of course are very wide and far-reaching in scope, and form a part of world literature, like the inscriptions of the Achæmenian emperor Darius, the inscriptions of Asoka, the Orkhon inscriptions of the Turkish hero-king Kül-tegin of the early 8th century, and the 13th century inscription of the Thai King of Siam, Rama Gamhaeng ; and nearer home one can also mention the inscription of Khāravela.

The well-organised temple of Jagannāth at Puri founded and enlarged by three generations of Gaṅga emperors is one of the great gifts of the Oriya people to medieval and modern Hindudom, as one of its most important national shrines, like some of the other great temples in other parts of India—Gaya, Varanasi, Mathura, Ayodhya, Ujjain, Dwaraka, Kedarnath and Badrinath, Tirupati, Kanchipura and Rameshwara. It is pleasant to contemplate that on the significant occasion of renovation and reorganisation of this centre of resurgent Brahmanism, the Andhra ruler of Orissa (whoever he actually was) should give such a great example of the fundamental unity of the North and the South in religion and culture, and in simple words give an expression to his faith, humility and his solicitude for the welfare of his people in its different sections—the religious men and scholars, the nobility and the fighters, and the masses.

It would be seen from the above specimens of the Oriya language going back to the times before 1400 A. D. that the language has remained almost unchanged through these centuries—from the middle of the 12th right down to the 20th. This is a very remarkable thing about Oriya among all the New Indo-Aryan languages, except, perhaps, to some extent,

in the case of Sindhi. Similarly, among the Romanic languages of Europe derived from Latin (paralleling the development of the New Indo-Aryan speeches from Old Indo-Aryan or "Sanskrit"), Italian alone is most conservative, compared with its sister-speeches French, Provençal and Catalonian, Spanish, Portuguese, and Rumanian, and presents almost the same speech as in the 13th century. The sound-system of Oriya does not seem to have undergone any great modification from the 12th century, or earlier. Even in the matter of the final vowels Oriya has retained them right down to the present day. Already from about 1400 A. D. Bengali, and possibly also Assamese, lost its final vowels. Some of the dialects of "Hindi", for example Braj-Bhasha, seemed to have kept up the final vowels upto the 17th century. But in the present day North Indian Aryan languages, except for Sindhi and Oriya, these final vowels inherited from Prakrit have almost all disappeared in pronunciation. The complicated vowel changes in Bengali and in other languages which are sisters of Oriya have never infected Oriya—excepting perhaps the epenthesis of y, as for example *rāija* for *rājya*. There have been comparatively fewer innovations in grammar—i.e. in morphology. So that it would be quite proper to say, if one would like to find out what Old Assamese and Old Bengali were like, one could easily get the answer from Oriya ; just as among the Germanic languages, German (or High German) has preserved much more of Primitive Germanic (exeept in the case of certain sounds) than English, Dutch or Scandinavian. The retention of the final vowels, particularly the medial and final *a*, has given to Oriya a certain archaic character. The elaborate system of vowel-change in Bengali, the ramifications of the declinational systems in Bengali, as well as the elaborate series of personal terminations for the inflected forms of the verb, as in Bengali and in the Bihar speeches, are conspicuous by their absence in Oriya. Oriya is thus a full language based on Māgadhī Apabhraṁśa, which was its immediate source—full in the sense that it preserved more or less intact the inflections which it inherited from Māgadhī Apabhraṁśa.

The presence of the vowels in the middle and end of words (which are generally dropped by Bengali and the rest) gives to Oriya a musical quality or character, which is no doubt archaic, but it is quite characteristic of the speech. The extraordinary development of *śabdālaṅkāra* or rhetorical flourishes and figures of speech based on sound, e.g. on assonance and jingle, which characterised Oriya poetry from the 17th century onwards, became very easy for Oriya because of the language having retained a good deal of the phonetic atmosphere of Sanskrit and Prakrit, and because of the habit it developed (like Malayalam and Telugu) of borrowing Sanskrit words to saturation.

Oriya, Bengali, Assamese, Maithili, Magahi and Bhojpuri—these six languages of Eastern India are all derived from the Magadhi Prakrit of Eastern Uttar Pradesh and Magadha. This Magadhi Prakrit of course we find only very imperfectly preserved in the Sanskrit drama as the language of particular classes of people, and the Prakrit grammarians from Vararuci onwards gave us certain rules as to the formation of Magadhi words from Sanskrit. This Magadhi Prakrit literature and grammar, going back to the early centuries of the Christian era, present but very meagre specimens, and the situation for the current spoken Magadhi of Eastern India during the centuries round about Christ can only be reconstructed from a very close comparative study of the present-day Magadhan speeches. But here again there is a scope for a good deal of linguistic speculation and imagination as the basis of a hypothetical reconstruction. The Magadhi speeches of the present day fall under three groups—(1) the Western, which includes Bhojpuri and Sadani or Chota Nagpuriyā ; (2) Central, which includes Maithili and Magahi, and these two are so very close to each other that they may be looked upon as one single language—only in Maithili they have retained in full the root *ach* or *ch-*, meaning 'to be', which has been lost to Magadhi and Bhojpuri, but which is still very living in the languages of the Eastern Group of Magadhan ; and finally (3) the Eastern Group which consists of Assamese, Bengali and Oriya, and these have a closer resemblance among each other than with either

Bhojpuri or Maithili-Magahi. In my *Origin and Development of the Bengali Language* (Calcutta University, 1926), I have tried to give the salient characteristics of these Eastern or Magadhan speeches, under which comes Oriya, and I have also attempted to indicate the points of mutual agreement or disagreement among all these six Magadhan speeches. It is not necessary to recapitulate them once again in the present context. It will be clear from this that Oriya, particularly Old Oriya, should not be looked upon as a speech very much removed from Bengali and Assamese. In other words, Bengali, Assamese and Oriya are closer to each other than to any of the other New Indo-Aryan languages. A knowledge of Oriya, particularly Early Oriya, is indispensible for a full understanding of the linguistics of Assamese and Bengali, and this can be said of the other languages of the Indo-Aryan family only to a lesser extent, although a study of Old Maithili, Old Marathi, Old Panjabi, Old Braj-bhasha, Old Awadhi and Old Gujarati are also indispensable.

The Oriya Script

In the matter of its Script, Oriya now stands by itself when we consider the present shapes of most of its letters. It is well-known that there was one single alphabet—the *Kuṭila* alphabet as a modification of the North Indian Brahmi as current during the middle of the 1st millennium A. D., throughout the whole of Eastern India—Eastern U. P., Magadha and Mithila, Nepal, Bengal, Assam and Orissa. But owing to the peculiar way of writing with an iron stylus, with which letters used to be scratched on the surface of the palm-leaves, the style of writing in Orissa among the Oriya peaple took a new turn from after the 16th century. This is how a great change took place in the shapes of the letters in Orissa. In the middle of the 19th century when the Oriya script was put in type, it seems that some of those who were responsible for designing an Oriya fount took care in giving the Oriya letters the shapes which characterised palm-leaf writing, which had deviated furthest largely from Assamese-Bengali and Maithili. But a good deal of the old shapes of the letters as in the

Common Eastern Script of a thousand years ago is still preserved in the Oriya in the *Chaṭā* or uncial or current hand, as opposed to the printed types and the writing in palm-leaf Mss. which is still widely in vogue. At the present day in Oriya writing, the distinctive part of a letter practically occupies only one-third of the entire letter at the bottom, almost two-thirds being taken up by a loop as a flourish on the top. It would be desirable to bring about a modification of the present Oriya writing with reference to the earlier style which we find in the inscriptions, and attempts might be made to bring the present-day Oriya script in line with its immediate sisters—the Bengali-Assamese, the Maithil, and the Newari, and even with the Nagari script. In the rounded forms of the letters, Oriya writing has now acquired a superficial resemblance to the Telugu system of writing, which was derived from the Pallava script as current about 600 A. D. in the Deccan and South India.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER II

In this chapter, as two genuine specimens of *continuous* Old Oriya composition have been given—the Bhubaneswar Inscription of Narasiṁha Deva IV, and the speech of King Anaṅga-Bhīma Deva III (really Ananta-varman Coḍa-gaṅga Deva) the builder or renovator of the Jagannātha temple at Puri. My friend Professor Dr. Kanhu Charan Mishra has kindly drawn my attention to three other epigraphic documents from Orissa which he considers to be older than either of the above texts. These are—

(i) A short inscription below a Jaina figure in stone, of which a transcript and translation has been supplied by Professor Mishra, and this runs as followa :

Deva-kahi bhakati karuṇa achanti vo (? bho) Kumarasena.

Professor Mishra has translated it as :

"Deva is addressing the Jaina saint Kumāra-sena, who is full of devotion and mercy."

The above inscription, in the opinion of Prof. Mishra, belongs, from the style of the writing (which is Proto-Oriya or Proto-Bengali), probably to the 11th century. But Dr. Dinesh Chandra Sircar, former Epigraphist to the *Archæological Survey of India*, is exceedingly sceptical about this very old date as proposed—he would suggest its being later than the 14th century.

The passage is doubtless Old Oriya, except for one from which is no longer found in Modern Oriya, but occured in (Māgadhī) Apabhraṁśa. I suggest the following translation of the passage as it is, whatever might be its date :

"O Kumāra-sena, devotion to the deity (*deva-kahi bhakati*) and mercy (*karuṇā*) are there."

This is not satisfactory. The form *deva-kahi* would become in present-day New Indo-Aryan (e.g. Magahi, Bhojpuri) *dew-ke*, **dewa-kai*. The corresponding Oriya form now in use is *-ku* (<*kaü*<*kahu*, in Apabhraṁśa).

(ii) An inscription on a stone slab preserved in front of the Dhavaleśvara temple at village Uragrama, Chicacole

Taluk, District Chicacole in Andhra-Pradesa. The script is of the North Indian type, like the Nagari. A date is given—Saturday the 5th day of the bright fortnight of Tulā (=*Kārttika*), Śaka Year 973 (=1051 A. D.), in the 15th year of King Ananta-varma-deva. This inscription has been published by Prof. Kunja Bihari Tripathi, Head of the Department of Oriya in Ravenshaw College, Cuttack, in his work on *the Evolution of the Oriya Language and Script* (Cuttack, 1962, pp. 222-224). The text is as follows, as given by Profesor Tripathi, with hyphens added :—

1 Svasti samara-mu-
2 khāneka-ripu-darppa-
3 mard(d)ana bhuja-bala-parākrama
4 Gaṅgānvayābalambana-stambha
5 Śrīmad-Ananta-ba(r)mma-deba-bija-
6 ya-rājya saṃbatsara 15 Tu-
7 lā māsa śukla-pakṣa dina
8 Pañcami Saṇibāraiṁ Yuruja-melā-
9 ṇa daya karilā paṭṭa sthitti (/)
10 Polākhisa Yurujamasa ja-
11 ni(/) gau Polākhisa tinni bhā-
12 ga Yurujamasa okku bhāga-
13 hāinta māṇicaṅku bojhya thilāi (/)
14 Yuruja-meleṁ gau Polākhi-
15 (me)lāṇa jyaubante na labhe.
16 u bamthileṁ (?) kaleṁ rākhake.
17 ...ṇa sahasra subarṇa-daṇḍa pado-
18 jya dhilā (/) ānati sāburāyi
19 cau sanmukheṁ sarasvatī
20 Ballabha-salā (=śilā) lekhitaṁ
21 Sakābda 973 (/)

Prof. Tripathi's tentative translation is given below :

"Hail : On Saturday, the fifth day of the bright fortnight (of) the month of Tulā, (during) the 15th year of the victorious reign of Śrī Ananta-varma-deva, the destroyer of the pride of many a foe at the front of the battle, whose great prowess lies in the strength of his (own) arms, who is like

pillar that supports the Gaṅga dynasty, this is the settlement of the (Royal) charter, granted as a favour, in respect of the festive gathering at Urajam.

"Be it known in respect of Polākhi and Urajam. It was due for enjoyment on the part of the people, three shares being of Polākhi and one share being of Urajam. He granted a 'Mailān' ... to ... during ... so that at the (festive) gathering of Urajam the (festive) gathering of Polākhi may not obtain ... .. Vallabha Sarasvati engraved this command on stone (i.e. completed the engraving of this charter) on the 7th (tithi), at the place of the assembly in the auspicious presence of the (deity). ... ... Saka era 973."

Here too Dr. D. C. Sircar has grave doubts about the ascription of the inscription and its date, which he thinks cannot be of the 11th century A.D. About the chronology, he is sure it cannot be before the 13th century. But the text as it occurs in the inscription with the Śaka date is to be given more detailed study.

(iii) Prof. K. C. Mishra has also mentioned to me another inscription, in both Oriya and Telugu versions, which is on a wall in Mārkaṇḍēśvara Temple in Puri. This he thinks is Old Oriya of the Gaṅga period, but the transcript of the texts in both Oriya and Telugu are not available. Dr. D. C. Sircar thinks such bilingual inscriptions are generally much later than the 14th century.

III. THE CULTURE OF ORISSA AND ITS CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE SUM-TOTAL OF THE MEDIAEVAL AND MODERN CULTURE OF INDIA

Rabindranath once declared that the culture of India was like a full-blown lotus, each petal of which represented a particular local language and its literature and the culture and mentality which were behind these. Radhanath Roy, the greatest Modern poet of Orissa, in a famous song in Sanskrit, a Hymn to India composed by him on the occasion of an All-Orissa Conference held in 1902, also said that, like other States of India, Orissa was only a petal of the grand lotus that was India (*Bhārata-paṅkaja-dalam idam Utkala-maṇḍalam*). In other words, the geographical entity of India with her history and culture forms a single unit, and Oriya with the culture of Orissa is only a provincial form of it—a dialect of the same single speech which embraced the entire area of the sub-continent of India, from the extreme North-West right down to the Southern tip of the peninsula in Tamil-nad and Kerala. The developement of local provincial cultures throughout the entire land of India, however, has not been uniform, and it is only natural that certain areas would witness a greater advancement or progress than others. Yet the common pattern was the same everywhere, and certain distinctive matters in Oriya culture can very well be considered.

Culture is the fragrant flower of civilisation which can attain to fruition in the shape of a distinctive Way of Life—a Way of Thought and a Way of Self-Expression. Compared with the peoples of other parts of India, the Oriya people are emphatically of the common Indian orbit, having developed only a few special characteristics which are the result of their climate, their history and their group-enterprise as well as their impact with other peoples. It will not be easy to generalise the characteristics of any particular area in India, but if we can speak of the Panjab and Rajasthan peoples—the Jaths, the

Rajputs and others as being characterised by military virtues, of the people of Gujarat and Western India as being inclined towards business and commerce, and the people of Bengal as being prone to argument and seeking to come down to the basic things, the people of Orissa in general are characterised by certain stolid virtues which are linked with the soil, living a good and a simple life, not over-sophisticated or hyper-cultured, but at the same time developing in their own evironment certain kinds of great art, particularly in the plastic art of sculpture, and in literature.

Mahamahopadhyaya Hara-prasad Sastri, one of the great scholars and writers of Bengal (1853-1931), spoke in his Presidential Address before a Bengali Literary Conference held at Burdwan in 1915 about what he called the "Glories of Bengal" (*Bāṅgālār Gaurava*), and enumerated as such twenty manifestations of Culture of Bengal in institutions and personalities. These were picked up by him in a rather hap-hazard manner, as in the enumerations of the 64 *Kalās* or Arts in ancient India, but thay all had a value and significance not only for Bengal but also for India. In the same way, we can speak of the "Glories" of all other provinces or states of India, the creation of Indian people speaking different languages from mediaeval times, which in their totality would form the "Glories of India."

We can suggest that the following are some of the typical expressions of the Intellectual and the Spiritual in the Culture of Orissa, and forming as it were a series of what may be called "the Seven Glories of Orissa". These are, as I conceive them to be—

(1) The Art of Orissa, in Sculpture, Architecture, Painting and the Artistic Crafts.

(2) Oriya Literature.

(3) The Sanskrit Learning of Orissa.

(4) The Temple and Cult of Jagannātha.

(5) The Music, Dance and Drama of Orissa.

(6) Orissa's Spirit of Resistance to Foreign Aggression.

(7) The Character of the Orissan People, in its Steadiness in Work and in its Gentleness of Ways.

Plate—I



(a) Ancient Orissan Sculpture—(?) the story of the Subjugation of a Yakshi (Udayagiri Caves)



(b) Another Version of the same Story (Udayagiri Caves)

The Art of Orissa

First of all, we have to consider the great Art *of Orissa* from the oldest period (barring the pre-Aryan periods of Mohen-jo-Daro and Harappa) of the history of Indian Art—from the centuries just before the Christian era right down to our times. The Art of India, as connected with the Aryan-speaking peoples, did not have a very ancient beginning in the country. The commencement of Indian Art as associated with the Sanskrit or Aryan culture of India is not much older than the middle of the first millennium before Christ. Its first floraison, after the Indians had taken up stone as a medium of architecture and sculpture in place of wood (following the example of their kinsmen, the Persians of the Achæmenian period), occured in the genuine native Indian tradition, which developed in sculpture in stone at Bharhut and at Sanchi, and slightly later at Udayagiri and Khaṇḍagiri in Orissa, as well as in Western India—in the present-day Maharashtra, which was formerly linguistically part of Karṇāṭaka. The sculptures at Udayagiri and Khaṇḍagiri Caves in Orissa are among the oldest and most distinctive, inspite of their seemingly rude and primitive quality, which, however, is characterised by a robust sincerity and most natural vitality. These Udayagiri and Khaṇḍagiri sculptures as well as the two-storey palace excavated in the living rock are among the greatest contributions of the Orissan people in early times in the domain of Art.

One great thing is noticeable in this second century school of sculpture in Orissa, which developed during the rule of the Mahāmegha-vāhana or Cheti dynasty, of which king Khāravela was the most illustrious ruler. This school was of course not an isolated one in Orissa, but it was just a branch of the same pan-Indian school of Sculpture current among the Hindu people of India in pre-Christian centuries, and it is linked up with that of Bharhut and Sanchi, of Bhaja and Karla, and equally with the slightly later schools of Mathura, Nagarjunakonda and Amaravati. The beautiful series of bas-reliefs at Udayagiri and Khaṇḍagiri are unique in Indian art.

One thing is specially noteworthy in them, and it is this. Whereas the sculptures of Bharhut and Sanchi and Bhaja and other places are almost entirely religious in character (excepting the decorative figures of *Mithunas* and of *Nāyikās* which are found at Mathura and elsewhere and which have an erotic character), here in Orissa we seem to have the First Great school of Secular Art, or rather themes in art which appeared to be of a secular character. The background or set-up is of the Jaina religion, but the narrative sculpture as in the friezes of the Orissa caves seek to depict stories which are of the nature of folk-tales and which do not seem to be specifically religious. In the Udayagiri and Khaṇḍagiri cave friezes we have several scenes depicting certain general situations, like, for example, the dance of women to the accompaniment of music, men and women in a lotus lake meeting, probably accidentally, with a herd of elephants, as well as the court of a king with some ceremony going on, and figures of women worshippers with offerings of flowers in baskets and fruits and food on trays. But there are at least three stories which have been depicted in these sculptures. The exact significance of these friezes—what story they are telling—has not been satisfactorily explained. The literature of the romantic story is perhaps the most extensive in the domain of Sanskrit and Prakrit, as these stories have been told by Brahmans, by Jaina Yatis and by Buddhist Bhikshus.

One of these friezes represents a story which has been, as I would think, correctly interpreted : it is the depicting of the story of the flight of Princess Vāsava-dattā of Ujjaiyinī with king Udayana of Kosala, and this story is told in four scenes, one following the other in the same panel, after the manner of ancient story-telling in plastic art. Here we have perhaps the oldest pictorial representation of a very famous romantic and non-religious tale of ancient India. The story has been depicted in this manner from the left to the right. First, at the extreme left we have Udayana, Vāsava-dattā and Udayana's trusted Minister fleeting from Ujjain on the back of an elephant. They are pursued by armed forces at the extreme left, and we have the figure of one of the riders on the

Plate—11



(a) Ancient Orissan Sculpture—the story of the Tree Nymph and the Magic Deer (Udayagiri Caves)



(a) Ancient Orissan Sculpture : the Abduction of Vāsavadatta by Udayana (Udayagiri Caves)

elephant cutting the head of one of the advance guards, while another is scattering money from a bag to tempt the pursuers and retard their progress. In the next scene, to the right of first one, we have the arrival of the party in Kosala, and the elephant has knelt down on the ground and the riders are descending. Next we have Udayana and Vāsava-dattā (Vāsava-dattā with the lyre in her hand) as well as the attendant minister proceeding towards the palace ; and finally, we have Vāsava-dattā seated in all honour on a cushion with Udayana and others standing in front of Vāsava-dattā.

The other two stories, which are depicted in the panels here, are not at all clear, but undoubtedly they represent some popular stories of a folk character, which may ultimately be discovered in some religious text of either Brahmanism or Jainism or Buddhism, or even in present-day folk-tales of India. I give a tentative explanation of these two also. In one panel, we have a young prince setting out to hunt in the forest—that is the first part of the frieze, at the extreme left. He has come to the forest on the back of a horse, and the next scene depicts that he has got down from the horse which is being led away by a groom. He is in the midst of a forest with his bow and arrow, getting ready to shoot a stag which is accompanied by other deer also. This stag is a miraculous one, as it would be seen because it has got wings, and it seems to be flying away in front of the prince, who has however shot the stag or going to shoot it. The next scene depicts the prince standing in front of a tree, looking non-plussed, with his bow and his arrow relaxed. The stag stands in front of a tree into which it seems to be ready to merge ; while, on the forked branches of the tree is seated a nude young woman—something like a *Vṛkṣakā* or Tree-Goddess, like the Dryads of Greek Mythology. The story seems to be of the luring of a young prince by this Tree-Goddess, who tempted him to follow her in the guise of a stag, which the prince wanted to hunt. It may be suggested that the Tree-Goddess was in love with the young prince. The end of this romantic story is not given there. The story is of the nature of a fairy-tale with the type of which we are familiar even in present-day India.

The third story suggests some connection with the story of the Yakshas and Yakshiṇīs as in Brahmanical and Buddhist literature of the centuries immediately before Christ. This story is repeated twice in the friezes at Udayagiri, and the narration is substantially the same. First, we have the figure of a man sleeping or resting. In one of the friezes, only a part of his body is to be seen, the rest being inside a hut, the man's head and chest coming out of the door of the hut. There is a woman seated beside him and looking at him. The next scene depicts a woman leading a warrior with a sword in his hand towards the recumbent man. Whether it is the same woman or not, we cannot make out. It would appear to be an echo of the story of the conquest of Ceylon by Vijaya after his encounter with the Yakshiṇī Kuveṇī. Next we have an encounter between the woman and the warrior, who are engaged in a duel with sword and shield. And finally, we have a scene of the warrior carrying off in his arms this woman, who seems to have become vanquished in the combat and is a willing prisoner.

Can the story be re-constructed as follows ? The Yakshiṇīs as in Ceylon were in the habit of treating hospitably ship-wrecked men who would come to their island, and then they would put them to sleep, and ultimately kill them and feast on their flesh. The first scene probably depicts the case of a Yakshiṇī with one of her victims. The next scene shows the prince or the warrior who is being welcomed and is being guided for a similar fate. But he had a suspicion of her intentions, and then he attacks her. The Yakshiṇī also gives fight to save herself, but is ultimately overpowered, and is then carried off as a prize, to be the wife of the prince who has tamed the Yakshiṇī. Similar stories of Yakshiṇīs and human beings are found in Buddhist literature, as for example in the story of the conquest of Ceylon in the *Mahāvaṁsa*, and in the story of the Jātaka tale No. 196--the *Valāhassa Jātaka*.

In any case, this explanation must be regarded as speculative. But the most interesting thing is the quality of these bas-reliefs. There is a good deal of life and animation as well as dramatic quality in these story-friezes. This art is quite great in its own way, although it has a naïve quality

Plate—III



Parvati from Khiching
(Medieval Orissan Sculpture)

about it ; and here we have the first fruits of Orissa's contribution to the Art of India and the World.

In subsequent centuries when Hindu culture—Brahmanical, Buddhist and Jaina—was at its apogee, Orissa created her distinctive school of art which we find in its perfection in the various temples in Bhubaneswar, and elsewhere, and particularly in Konarak. The art of Orissa stands worthily and on a very high pedestal beside the other schools, e.g. those of Mathura and Amaravati and Nagarjunakoṇḍa, of Malwa and Rajasthan, of Bengal and Bihar (Pala and Sena sculpture), of the Chālukya rulers both of the East and West, of the Pallavas and the Cholas, of the Hoysālas, of the later Telugu and Tamil schools, of Khajuraho in North India, and the rest. The preponderance of erotic sculptures in this classic art of Orissa is something noticeable, but this is nothing unique, when we think of other great centres of ancient and mediaeval Indian art like Khajuraho. Konarak is a most wonderful place for Orissan sculpture at its highest, and the great Director of the Archaeological Survey of India, the late Sir John Marshall, had declared that Konarak, because of the wealth of its sculptures, forms one of the six *musts* for visitors to India, the other five being Sanchi, Ajanta, Ellora, Khajuraho and the Taj. Herein we have one of the greatest contributions from Orissa for the glorification of India and for the appreciation of Humanity at large.

The Orissan temple architecture forms a very distinctive school in the Hindu architecture of India. The Orissan temples have been described as being typically 'Indo-Aryan' as opposed to the Deccan and the South Indian or 'Dravidian' styles. There are other schools of Hindu architecture in different parts of India, and some of them have their very special characteristics, like, for example, that of Nepal, of late mediaeval Bengal in brick with terracota sculptures, and of Kerala. Then Muslim architecture in India also is divided into various local schools—e.g. the North Indian including pre-Mogul and Mogul, the Gujarat school, the Bengal school and the Kashmir school, each with its distinctive quality of beauty and strength and utility.

Mediaeval Orissan sculpture has a great quality of suavity about it, and the most delightful creations of Orissan sculpture are the large number of decorative figures of young women in various attitudes which adorn the temple walls. These *Nāyikās* or *Deva-kanyās* of Orissan art, as distinctive from the *Mithuna* figures of men and women depicted in their intimate scenes of love, stand worthily beside similar creations in other schools of Indian sculpture, and their place has indeed to be acknowledged as being on a high artistic level. They can be compared in their artistic expression with the standing Yakshiṇī figures of the Mathura school in their various attitudes, and similar single figures in Nagarjunakoṇḍa and Amaravati. These latter in Mathura and the Telugu country are much older than the late mediaeval sculptures of Orissa; and they are on a simpler and grander style, calling for spontaneous comparison with Greek art. The art of the Pallavas and the Cholas as well as that of the dynasties of the later periods in the Tamil country present us with attempts among the Tamil sculptors at depicting these *Nāyikās* and *Deva-kanyās* in ways different from the mediaeval Orissan artists' attempt at visualising the *Eternal Feminine.* Quite in contrast with the other schools are the squat figures in the decorative sculptures of the Hoysāla art as at Belur and Halebid. But here in this sculpture of old Karṇāṭaka art we have a plethora of ornamentation, which is like a highly seasoned dish which palls on our taste with its excess of spices The few very tall and svelte figures of these *Nāyikās* on the brackets in black stone decorating the Rāmaswāmī temple at Hanamkonda in the Andhra country are also very attractive and distinctive—they differ from the Orissan *Nāyikās* and they present quite a contrast with the sweet sedateness of the Orissan ideal of the *Prakṛti.* These also form one of the great gifts of the Orissan sculptors to humanity.

Orissa did not develop any noteworthy school of wall-paintings in the shape of frescos. But in late mediaeval times, a vigorous school of art of a decorative character, which was essentially a religious development in Orissa, flourished. In their style and general feel these Orissan paintings resemble

Plate—IV



Kumara from Bhuvanesvara
(Medieval Orissan Sculpture)

the late mediaeval painting of the Telugu country as well as of Tamil-nad, and the resemblance with the very distinctive wall-paintings in temples and palaces of distant Kerala is also striking. The Kerala paintings are very important—from their number and the variety of their subject matter, their vigorous lines and their brilliant colouring, they form a most important style of mediaeval Indian painting which belongs to the South Indian orbit. Orissan painting is totally different in spirit, with its frankly two-dimensional decorative character, from the classical bas-reliefs of Orissan sculpture. The *rudesse* and force are something new, and although there are points of agreement with 16th and 17th century North Indian painting, the family likeness is more with the late mediaeval painting of the South. Probably we have to think here of Telugu inspiration or influence, as in many other items of Orissan culture.

This mediaeval pictorial art of Orissa used as its material cloth and a prepared ground on cloth made of certain gums. The well-known *paṭas* or paintings, in very strong and vivacious colours, brilliant reds, yellows, greens and blues, of the different Gods, depicted mostly in a static position, formed a very characteristic type of folk-art which was religious in its concept and its execution. These paintings used to be made on a very large scale for the pilgrims from all parts of India to take home with them and keep in their homes as heirlooms. Sometimes the same style of painting would be attempted to be transformed on the wall. But this aspect of the Orissan art has not been as yet carefully studied. Yet it is noteworthy that in recent times the decorative quality as well as the strength and vigour of these religious paintings in colour from Orissa have captivated the mind of art-loving Europe and America. These pictures are now having a market among connoisseurs of folk-art both within and outside India.

A most noteworthy example of transformation of the Orissa school of painting from small-sized pictures on cloth with the ground made with some kind of gum into stone sculpture in relief is to be found in the Nāṭa-Mandira of the temple of Jagannātha in Puri. Here, while entering from the right side, into this pavilion connected with

the sanctum of the great temple, we are at once confronted on the left wall with a number of figures in high relief which are translations in stone of the very vigorous school of mediaeval Orissan painting which has continued to our day. We find here on the wall the representation of a scene from that great historical romance from mediaeval Orissa—the story of king Purushottama Deva and Princess Padmāvatī, which is a theme of the *Kāñchī-Kāveri Epic*, the nucleus of which goes back to the end of the 15th century. These are sculptured in high relief on the wall, and embellished with all the brilliant colours of Orissan painting, first the figures of two divine horse-men, the White Knight (*Dhalā Rāuta*) and the Black Knight (*Kalā Rāuta*)—Balarāma, whose colour was white, mounted on a white charger with all the arms and accoutrements of a mediaeval Orissan horse-man, and his brother Kṛishṇa whose colour was dark, similarly accoutred and mounted on a black horse, with the milk-woman, Māṇikā, in front of them, receiving from them the jewel-ring as the price of the milk and cream they took from her, just as the poem has narrated. Next to this romantic group is a series of high reliefs depicting the great Gods of Hinduism—Vishṇu and Śiva, and others, standing in worship looking at the figure of Jagannātha, his brother and his sister, far-away in the inner sanctum. This panel of the horse-men has been repeated in a number of other temples in Orissa, and their value lies in giving us a fragment of a narrative sculpture frieze, transferring to stone a painting on cloth.

Orissan art is also characterised by a special type of drawings scratched on palm-leaf. The thin and long strips of palm-leaves are sometimes joined together with thread, giving a sufficiently big surface like a piece of paper for making these drawings. These palm-leaf pictures scratched with a stylus and filled up with lamp-black show a most remarkable type of art which is strong and vigorous, at the same time possessing the virile quality of the early Rajasthan painting in their firm and bold lines. Only in one other area within the entire orbit of Hindu civilisation we find a similar school of illustrations scratched on palm-leaf with a stylus and then

Plate—V





Specimens of late Medieval Oriya Manuscripts in Palm-Leaf with illustrations.

filled with lamp-black, and that is in the distant island of Bali forming the extreme South-Eastern frontier of the Hindu world, where manuscripts with similar pictures were quite common at one time. Some of these palm-leaf drawings have been enlarged and published in an excellent edition of an early Oriya work (with the text in Roman transcription and an English translation) by Sri Ordhendra Coomar Gangoly, the well-known art critic (the *Dasa Poi* "the Ten Idylls" of Damodara Bhanja, Oriya Text in Roman characters, English translation, and reproductions of pictures from the Ms. : published by Srimati S. Bose, Calcutta 1952).

Some line drawings on palm-leaf Mss., which are in a more or less realistic style, apart from the stylised manner of the *Paṭas* which is too frequently followed in usual run of palm-leaf drawings, are quite exquisite in their simplicity and virile quality. I can recall copies of such drawings which were made from illustrations in the *Mādaḷā Pāñjī* by Pandit Sadasiva Ratha, librarian of the Emar Matha Library in Puri, and which were shown to me—drawings of processions and stately meetings of royal personages in the style of bas-reliefs. A full study of Orissan pictorial art is still a desideratum.

It is remarkable that the spirit of mediaeval tradition is still quite a flourishing one in Orissa and forms one of the living traditions of the ancient and mediaeval artistic crafts in modern India. Beautiful figures of typical *Nāyikās* and *Dēva-kanyās* as in old temples at Bhuvaneswar and elsewhere in durable stones as well as in the soft soap-stone are made even now in Orissa, and they are always treasured by art-lovers and discriminating tourists.

Orissan art also reached a very high level of excellence in its mediaeval ivory work. Some very good specimens of elaborate ivory-carvings on a large scale depicting the columns or brackets in Orissa temples, with figures of lions and elephants and horses and warriors, have survived. One may mention particularly two master-pieces of ivory sculpture from Orissa which were exhibited at Delhi in 1903, one being a lovely figure of Kṛishṇa, lavishly carved with representation of jewels, and the other that of a tortoise as a divine incarna-

tion of Vishnu, with a most elaborately designed panel of decoration on its back.

Orissa's metal-work, in the shape of artistic castings and carvings (decorative birds and animals, and toys for children) in bell-metal and brass, and in the form of household utensils (*loṭas* or water pots, *kaṭorās* or bowls, cups, boxes, areca-nut cutters, etc.), are also well-known. These are among the lines in which the Orissan artists and craftsmen showed their special excellence, and demonstrated their high place in the brotherhood of Indian craftsmen in different lines.

I need not make a special mention of the excellent textiles produced by Orissan craftsmen, and they are also among the most artistic products of India. From the sculptures of mediaeval Orissa we can easily see how embroidered or printed stuffs of various kinds were in use in the dress of the women, and of course in this matter Orissa is at par with any other state in India—in both its cotton and silk weaves.

The Literature of Orissa in Oriya

The *Literature of Orissa* has certain common features with the other literatures of India in both the modern Indo-Aryan and Dravidian languages. There is in the first instance what can be described as "the Matter of Ancient India"—renderings in Oriya of the great classics of Brahmanical literature in Sanskrit—The *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* and the *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa*, and other *Purāṇas* and Puranic stories. The *Mahābhārata* of Sāraḷā-Dāsa and the *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa* of Jagannātha-Dāsa are two of the greatest and earliest classics of Oriya, and they are popular among all sections of the people, the *Bhāgavata* of Jagannātha-Dāsa being really the Bible of the Oriya-speaking masses, as much as the old Awadhi *Rāma-carita-mānasa* of Tulasī-Dāsa is for the people of North India. But one great development of mediaeval Oriya literature was its schools of ornate verse composition. And the Sanskrit scholars of Orissa were virtually taken by storm by Upendra Bhañja who flourished from 1670 to 1720. It was he and Dina-Krushna Dasa (17th century) who gave to the Oriya literature of the late 17th to mid-19th century a

very unique kind of composition in which all the resources of the Sanskrit language were put to use, to bring about not only verbal jingle and assonance and all kinds of acrostic elaboration (one may say, even trickery), but they also popularised what may be described as the hyperbolical figures of rhetoric as in the metaphysical poets of 17th century England. This was of course nothing popular, but rather scholarly ; and as a remarkable repository of scholarship combined with ingenuity of method, the Oriya poets from the 17th century onwards had a unique place among the writers in the various Indian languages. The Oriya poets of the 17th and 18th centuries took over the entire rhetorical and poetic achievement of mediaeval Sanskrit literature and poetics, belonging to all the various Schools; and Sanskrit *Rasa*, *Rīti*, *Alaṁkāra*, *Dhvani*, *Vakrokti*, *Aucitya* and the matters of rhetorical style became naturalised in Oriya poetry in a way which was not approached by any literature in a modern Indian language, Aryan or Dravidian. The "Matter of Ancient India" was developed to its widest and highest and deepest in Oriya literature.

But Oriya appears not to have developed a school of popular literature outside of the translations or adaptations from the two great Sanskrit Epics and the *Purāṇas*. We have not as yet been able to discover in Oriya a characteristic ballad literature, like what we have in Bengali and in the North Indian languages and dialects including Sindhi, Marathi and Gujarati. The Dravidian languages, all the four great speeches of the South, particularly Malayalam and Telugu as well as Tamil, can show the evidence of a large literature of these folk-tales and legends. We have one great story, however, which was treated by the poet Māguṇi-Dāsa, probably in the 17th century, describing the story of Purushottama-Deva and Padmāvatī, which has been alluded to before. This story has caught the fancy of writers both in Orissa and in Bengal, and it is quite an attractive romance coming out from the imagination of Orissan poets who embellished a bare historical narrative into a fine romantic poem.

The Sanskrit Learning of Orissa

The Sanskrit Learning of Orissa has also its great contribution in the sum-total of mediaeval Sanskrit literature for the whole of India. Orissa has a long succession of scholars who were great in various subjects in Sanskrit, e.g. Medicine (Mādhava-kara), Grammar (Mārkaṇḍeya), Rhetoric and Poetics (the eminent Viśvanāth Kavirāja and his great-uncle Caṇḍīdāsa), Sanskrit Drama (Rāmānanda Rāya) and a number of other eminent names in mediaeval Sanskrit literature. Jayadeva, the author of the *Gīta-Govinda*, has been claimed by the scholars of Orissa as belonging to Orissa itself. I need not enter into the merits of the controversy here, but elsewhere I have tried to show Jayadeva's connexions and affinities as available in his writings (and there is evidence that he wrote other Sanskrit verses—possibly some other *Kāvya* on some heroic subject—than what we find in the *Gīta-Govinda*) were with Bengal, and particularly West Bengal, when Bengal was ruled by Lakshmaṇa Sena. The preponderant influence of Jayadeva not only on the literature of Orissa but also on that of distant Rajasthan, Gujarat, Maharashtra and the Dravidian-speaking countries of the South, even including Ceylon, is a most remarkable thing in mediaeval Sanskrit literature. Jayadeva was really 'the Last of the Ancients, and the First of the Moderns' in the mediaeval Indian literary tradition. Outside of the *Gītā* and the *Megha-dūta*, Jayadeva's *Gita-Govinda* is a classic of Sanskrit which has the largest number of commentaries by scholars from different parts of India (see my article on Jayadeva to the Dhruva Commemoration Volume published from Banaras, and my original article in Bengali in the *Bhārata-varsha* for Śrāvaṇa, 1350 Bengali Year, Calcutta).

About the contribution of Orissa to the literature of Sanskrit, one must mention the valuable studies of Sri Kedaranatha Mahapatra, Superintendent of the Museum at Bhuvaneswara, viz. in his Descriptive Catalogues of Sanskrit Mss. in Orissa, preceded by important Introductions. Already these have been published with valuable information on Orissa's Sanskrit scholarship :

(1) Contributions of Orissa to Sanskrit Literature—Kāvya, Nāṭaka, Alaṁkāra—including a descriptive catalogue of the Sanskrit Mss. of Orissa—Orissa Sahitya Academi, Bhubaneswar 1960.

(2) Descriptive Catalogue of Purana Mss. (Vol. II of the Catalogue) with Introduction : Bhubaneswar, 1962.

(3) Descriptive Catalogue of Jyotisha and Gaṇita Mss. : (Vol. IV) : Bhubaneswar, 1963.

(4) Descriptive Catalogue, Vol. I : Smṛiti Mss. with Introduction : Bhubaneswar, 1958.

Orissa gave to India some of the great poets and dramatists of Classical Sanskrit literature, like Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa (the author of the drama *Veṇī-Saṁhāra*, 8th century A. D.), Murāri Miśra (author of the *Anargha-rāghava* c. 1000 A.D. ?), Krishna Miśra (whose *Prabodha-candrodaya Nāṭaka*, c. 1050 A.D.) and *Sri Harsha*, the illustrious poet of the great Kāvya the *Naiṣadha-Carita* (flourished c. 1100 A.D.), Viśvanātha Kavirāja (c. 1400 A.D., the author of the *Sāhitya-darpaṇa* ; and there were others only less reputed. From 1100 A.D. to the conquest of Orissa by the Pathan Sultans of Bengal in 1567 A.D., and subsequently, Orissa continued to produce poets and writers in all the fields of Sanskrit literature and science, and her record in this department of intellectual pre-eminence is higher than in many other parts of India, when we consider the long tale of the galaxy of Orissan Sanskrit authors. Mention is being made below of Baladeva Vidyābhūshaṇa, who formed a great link through Vaishnava philosophy and religion between Orissa and Bengal. In Sri Kedara-natha Mahapatra's Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Mss. of Orissa, Vol. II as mentioned above, we have a long list of the most famous writers of Sanskrit and the artistically and otherwise valuable compositions they produced, and these add to the glory of mediaeval and modern Sanskrit literature of India, while considerably adding to its output. Among some of the more successful creations, the following works have been specially praised by scholars : the *Bhāratāmṛta-Mahākāvya* by Kavicandra Rāya Divākara Miśra, whose patron was Emperor Kṛishṇadeva Rāya of Vijaya-nagara (1509-1529

A.D.); the *Brahma-Prakāśikā Ṭīkā* by Mahāmahopādhyāya Narahari Pandā (c. 1750 A.D.), giving a unique interpretation of the *Megha-dūta* of Kālidāsa, bringing in devotion to Jagannātha in a totally new background; the *Rāghava-yādavīyam* of Vāsudeva Praharāja of Ganjam, a *dvyāśraya kāvya*, giving, in the style of the famous *Rāghava-pāṇḍavīya* of Kavirāja Sūrī, the story of Rama and Krishna both together through the same verses, each with a *double entendre*; besides quite a good number of other works.

But in one matter the Orissan scholars have done a signal service to the higher Sanskrit studies in India. In the whole of India it has been only a group of Oriya Brahmans who have preserved intact the complete text of the *Atharva-Veda*, together with its tradition. Of the four Vedas, somehow the study of the *Atharva-Veda* fell largely into desuetude throughout the greater part of India. There are a few families which still preserve the *Atharva-Veda* tradition in Gujarat. In pre-Muslim Bengal, Atharva-Vedin Brahmans were found in good numbers. The Atharva-Veda is largely a repository of the highest spiritual philosophy of the Vedānta. But at the same time, it came to be connected with magic and the rituals of the *Tantras*, and was looked at askance by all respectable Brahmans because of its fancied connexion with black magic and with all sorts of questionable rites to cause harm to people by interested persons. The Atharva-Veda tradition therefore fell in disrepute, and the numerous families of Atharva-Vedin Brahmans, belonging to the Paippalāda branch or school, whose presence has been discovered only recently in Orissa, and in contiguous parts of Bengal and Bihar, where they are looked down upon, and they themselves aquiesced in this position. It was through the enlightened curiosity and very wide and discriminating scholarship in Vedic studies of Professor Durga-Mohan Bhattacharyya of the Government Sanskrit College in Calcutta, with the support of a scholar like Dr. Hare-Krushna Mahatab, former Chief Minister of Orissa, that the Atharva-Vedin Brahmans with their heritage of the fourth Veda came to be known to the outside world. This has enabled them to be rehabilitated. These Brahmans

have preserved not only manuscripts of the Atharva-Veda, but also the old time-honoured tradition of retaining considerable portions of the text in memory, with ability to recite it whenever required, particularly in connexion with Vedic and Puranic rituals. The Atharva-Veda was virtually lost to India, and the two printed editions, one based on a birch-bark manuscript from Kashmir, and the other from a paper manuscript from Maharashtra—the Paippalāda and Śaunaka recensions—are faulty and full of mistakes owing to imperfect manuscript tradition and absence of a living oral tradition such as we have in the case of the other Vedas. With the co-operation of these Atharva-Vedin Brahmans, who have helped him with Mss. and with information, Professor Durgā-Mohan Bhattacharyya is now bringing out a full annotated text of this Veda, which may be correctly described as "the missing Veda", and this text as preserved by the Orissa Brahmans gives a correct and a definitive text of this great work of ancient Indian literature. The rest of India will remain grateful to the Atharva-Vedin Brahmans of Orissa for having preserved in this way this great book of religious and cultural import.*

In connexion with the Sanskrit scholarship as well as pre-eminence in philosophy among the learned men of Orissa in early times, one great name has to be specially mentioned—that of Baladeva Vidyābhūshaṇa (18th century). Born in Northern Orissa, he studied near the Chilka lake, and went to Karnataka to study the Vedas. He felt attracted to the *Dvaita* Philosophy of Madhvāchārya, and adopted his doctrines. Later on he was impressed by the philosophy of the Gauḍiya or Bengal Vaishnavas who were followers of Chaitanya, like Rūpa, Sanātana and Jīva who were settled in Vrindavana and wrote extensively in Sanskrit on the Gauḍīya Vaishnava philosophy which was being built up. Baladeva joined the

* I have to record with profound regret the untimely passing away of this great scholar of the Veda in Bengal, on 12 November 1965. He has completed his edition of the Text, of which only one part has appeared, and the Calcutta Government Sanskrit College authorities will complete the publication of the entire work as edited by him.

Chaitanya school, and went to Vṛndavana. There he wrote his famous *Govinda-bhāṣya* commentary on the *Brahma-sūtras* of Bādarāyaṇa, on the *Gītā* and on some of the Upanishads of which the commentary on one only, the *Gopāla-tāpanī*, has been found. Thus Baladeva Vidyābhūshaṇa gave to the Bengal Vaishnavas an authoritative commentary on the *prasthāna-traya*, the three bodies of inspired texts, without which no Brahmanical philosophical school could have a status in mediaeval and modern India. The *Govinda-bhāṣya* of the Orissa scholar Baladeva established the doctrines of the *Gauḍīya* or Bengal Vaishnava school (*Acintya-bhedābheda*) on a pedestal comparable to that of the *Śaṅkara-bhāṣya* of Śankarāchārya, the *Śrībhāṣya* of Rāmānujāchārya, the *Aṇu-bhāṣya* of Madhvāchārya and the *Puṣṭi-mārga-bhāṣya* of Vallabhāchārya. In this work of vast erudition, Baladeva showed ample evidences of his intimate knowledge of the Madhva school, some points of which he incorporated in his work.

The *Govinda-bhāṣya* shows how Bengal Vaishnavism of Chaitanya had become intimately connected with cultural and spiritual life of Orissa. Chaitanya himself found a home during his latter life, from 1510 onwards, at Puri, and the king of Orissa, Pratāpa-rudra-Deva (the son of Purushottama-Deva and Padmāvatī, whose romantic story has been mentioned before) accepted him as his religious guide and master. The personality of Chaitanya (who was given the sobriquet of *Harināma-mūrti* or "God's name incarnate" by the Oriya Poet Sadānanda) was a golden link bringing Gauḍa or Bengal and Orissa closer to each other, and enabled both these peoples, uterine brothers so to say, to enter into the fellowship of a common religious aspiration and practice. The great poets of Orissa, contemporaneous with Chaitanya, like Jagannātha-Dāsa, the author of the Oriya version of the *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa*, were his personal friends. In ancient and mediaeval times, there was no provincial feeling, no exclusiveness if a teacher did not belong to a particular area. Unfortunately, with the development of provincialism and linguism (or intolerance of persons speaking other languages), some writers have sought to minimise the importance and significance of Chaitanya's mission, his

personality with its infinite love of God and love of man and with its robust strength in resisting oppression (as in the case of his opposing the tyrannical Qāẓī or Muslim Governor in Navadvipa), and to declare that Chaitanya's connexion with Orissa was detrimental to Orissa in the political domain. But the fact of the acceptance of Chaitanya not only by the masses of Orissa but also by its intellectual élite, as in the case of Baladeva Vidyābhūshaṇa even two centuries after Chaitanya's passing away, has to be taken note of, as much as that of other scholars and writers and aristocratic persons of Orissa who had the opportunity of coming into personal touch with Chaitanya. A consideration of the late mediaeval cultural and spiritual atmosphere of Orissa will not be complete without a study of the influence of Chaitanya, as much as we cannot eliminate Martin Luther from a consideration of the religious developments in Western Europe.

The Temple and Cult of Jagannātha

When we think of Orissa we are always reminded of two things—Puri and Konarak. The appeal of the magnificient structure of Konarak with all its wealth of sculpture (mostly in the erotic vein) is of course confined to the educated art-lover, not only in India but also outside India. Konarak is a fallen shrine. As one of the great centres of Sun-worship, it was flourishing some centuries ago, but now it is in ruins, and its appeal to the masses has practically gone.

But throughout the greater part of Hindu India, Orissa means Puri and Puri means the shrine of Jagannātha, of Vishṇu as the Lord of the World. Puri in Orissa forms one of the four great shrines of Hindudom, established, according to tradition, at the instance of the great Teacher and Revivalist of Philosophic Hinduism, Śankarāchārya, of about 800 A.D., at the four corners of India, North, South, West and East. In the North we have the two temples of Kedarnath and Badrinath, the former dedicated to Śiva, the latter to Vishṇu. In the South we have Rāmeśvara, which is connected with the worship of Śiva as performed by Rāma, the incarnation of Vishṇu and the hero of the Rāmāyaṇa. The shrine of

Dwarka in Gujarat in Western India is dedicated to Kṛishṇa, and in the East we have the temple of Jagannātha, who is Kṛishṇa or Vishṇu incarnate. For every pious Hindu a visit to these four shrines, and particularly to the three in the East, West and South, which are easily accessible, is almost obligatory. At any rate, the aspiration of most Hindus is to visit these shrines, and more specially that of Puri. In this way Orissa has helped to strengthen the solidarity of Hindu India. Puri has become interwoven into the religious life of Hindu India.

The history of the shrine of Jagannātha is shrouded in mystery, and scholars everywhere are trytng to unravel this mystery. Whatever might be the origin of this shrine, there are certain things which seem to connect it with Buddhism. As a matter of fact, it would seem that on the ruins of Buddhism, which was passing away as the popular religion, the cult of Jagannātha with that of his brother Balarāma and his sister Subhadrā came to be established, and these three figures appeared in a way to be a transformation of the three-fold objects of worship in popular Buddhism—Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha. In popular consciousness, particularly in Orissa, the connexion of Buddhism is decidedly admitted. One great thing which characterises this shrine is the total disregard of caste restrictions, which forms such a very predominant characteristic of present-day Brahmanical Hinduism. Throughout the whole of caste-ridden India, where every group has its most elaborate laws with regard to eating and drinking with members of other groups and even in coming in contact with them by physical touch, Puri is the only place where caste is thrown to the winds under the aegis of Lord Jagannātha. Hindus normally would not eat rice cooked by people who do not belong to their own caste, or which is not cooked by a Brahman—the Brahman's ministration in this respect is acceptable to all. But here, the consecrated food which is offered to Jagannātha—the usual vegeterian Hindu food, of rice and lentils and various curries and sweets—becomes not only acceptable to all as the direct leavings from the table of the Deity, so to say, but it even

sanctifies those who eat them. An untouchable person who may be the lowest of the low in the social scale can take the *prasāda* or the consecrated food from his own plate from which he is eating and put it himself into the mouth of a Brahman, and the latter would not be polluted by this touch and would not lose his caste : and he is expected to reciprocate the same thing. Such a tremendous disregard of what is considered to be the most vital thing in Hindu society today is astonishing. The cooked rice which is offered to Jagannātha is dried and is taken all over the country, and it cannot be polluted by the touch of the lowest classes. On the other hand, it sanctifies those who handle it. One might say that in present-day Hinduism this unique character of the shrine at Puri in Orissa is one of the greatest gifts of Hinduism as it developed in Orissa to the entire domain of modern Hindudom in India.

In Orissa, as in most other states, there has been no lack of protestant movements against the outward paraphernalia of Puranic Hinduism. Caste has been opposed by most of the great teachers—the saints and sages and philosophers—of India, beginning with Buddha onwards, in historical times. There was a tacit condemnation of caste by most of the mediaeval devotees of India. In modern times the matter was brought to a head by Raja Ram Mohun Ray, who has been aptly named the "Father of Modern India". With the influence of a rigid monotheistic atmosphere of Islam in his mind, engendered by the study of Persian and Arabic literatures at an early age, he had nothing but condemnation for ordinary Hindu ritual of worshipping God through images. With him this was rank idolatory. He of course did not understand or care for the *rationale* behind image-worship in Hinduism, which is not at all something like the primitive or unthinking fetishism. His condemnation was downright, and he took his stand on the monotheism of the Vedānta. Among the Nirguṇa school of Philosophers who composed in various North Indian dialects—Brajbhasha and Khariboli Hindi and the rest, Idolatory was abjured and Puranic Ritualism through images was looked upon as something against the spirit of true religion. We have Kabīr and Dādū and the

Sikh teachers beginning with Guru Nānak who are all in the same tradition. In Orissa, although Brahmanical orthodoxy became strongly fortified during the time of the Ganga dynasty and also of the subsequent dynasties, the anti-caste feelings continued all through. Finally, in the 18th century it expressed itself in the Mahimā religion of two teachers, Mahimā Goswāmī and his disciple, the blind poet of aboriginal Khond origin, Bhīma Bhoi. Forceful *bhajanas* and distichs of Bhīma Bhoi are still current among the Oriya people, although there is no general acceptance of his doctrines. This form of protestant Hinduism, which appears to have absorbed also a good deal of Buddhism which survived through it, was not taken to kindly by the Oriya people, particularly the scholars and *paṇḍits* who were the custodians of Hindu religion and society. This is why a religious movement comparable to the Brahmo Swamaj Movement in Bengal, with Sikhism in the Panjab and with the Kabir-Panth in Northern India and with the Arya Samaj in Panjab and North India, namely the Mahimā cult of Orissa, could not make its mark either in its native state of Orissa or in the rest of India.

The Music, Dance and Drama of Orissa

Orissa also has had her distinctive school of Music and the Drama, and particularly of the Dance. Orissan music has not been properly studied, but it would appear to have in it some harmonious combination of both the North Indian (*Hindusthānī*) and the South Indian (*Karṇāṭaka*) styles. The institution of the women temple-dancers (*Dēva-dāsīs*) in Orissan temples, as well as the employment of musical bands and singing as part of the religious service in the temples, have helped to keep up a pure tradition of Orissan music and singing intact. Musical bands are depicted in mediaeval sculpture as in the temples (e.g. the Paraśurāmeśvara Temple at Bhubaneswar, and the big figures of the lovely *Nāyikās* with musical instruments, some of them dancing, on the top of the ruined anti-chamber in the great temple of the Sun at Konarak). In the 15th century inscriptions of the Orissan kings on the walls of the temple at Puri, it is enjoined under

Plate—IV



Classical Odisi Dancing

orders of the king that only the *Gita-govinda* songs were to be sung in worship in the Jagannātha temple. There is much musical talent in Orissa, and in the development of the popular musical operas or dramas in early 19th century Bengal, an Oriya master, known as Gopāl Uḍe (or Uḍiyā), had considerable influence. The Oriya folk-drama which still is a living thing appears to be of the same type as the Bengali *Yātrās* which came to be stylised in the 18th-19th centuries (apart from religious singing and chanting, with a modicum of acting, which was current in mediaeval times). In the Hindu courts of Bengal (under the Palas and the Senas), of Mithila, of Assam, of Nepal, and of Orissa, a similar type of cultured or high drama was in vogue, in which the songs, which formed the base or core of the drama, were written in either Apabhraṁsa or Old Oriya, Old Bengali, Old Maithil, or Old Awadhi, and the prose dialogue was in Sanskrit, or in one of the New Indo-Aryan languages of the East. Rājā Rāmānanda Rāya's drama of the *Jagannātha-vallabha* is an example of these courtly and learned dramas of Orissa and Eastern India This tradition has long been lost, and the folk-drama is the only one now in vogue. Orissan talent in this line is now finding a new expression in the Oriya cinema at the present day, and there are already some notable artistic productions.

Orissa has re-discovered for herself and for India as a whole her distinctive style of the Dance—the *Oḍiśi* dance. It is quite a school by itself, taking its place worthily beside the *Bharata-nṛtyam* and the *Mohini Attam* of the Tamil Nad, the *Kathākali* and other styles of Kerala, the *Kuchipuḍi* of the Andhra country, the *Kathak* school of Hindustan, the *Chhau* of the Bengal-Orissa-Bihar borderland, the *Bhāwanā* of Assam, and the *Manipuri* style of Manipur. There are two aspects of it —a folk style, and a cultured one. The latter is connected with the old-style temple dancing by the Deva-dasis. Sri Ordhendra Coomer Gangoly, the octogenarian art-critic and art-historian of India, first discovered Orissan folk dancing which still seemed to be of classical origin at Puri in the year 1940, which he described in his famous art-journal the *Rūpam* in 1940.

Long after that, the *Odiśi* style has slowly come to its own, and is being rehabilitated in Orissa, among the cultured classes, and is also obtaining recognition as a distinctive form of Indian dancing (allied to but independent of *Bharata-nāṭyam* of the Tamil-Nad), and it forms a definite contribution from Orissa to the Dance of India.

Serious attention is now being paid to this very beautiful form of Indian dancing. The well-known *Marg*, art-journal from Bombay, has published a special number with illustrations on *Odisi* Dance (March 1960, Vol. XIII, no. 2). Dr. Charles Fabri, distinguished writer from Hungary on Indian culture, and Dr. Mulk Raj Anand, well-known writer and art critic of India, have written on the Odisi Dance. Dr. Fabri has declared that "the discovery of Orissi should be hailed as one of the great events in recovering a long lost heritage", and he even considers this form of the dance as preserved in Orissa to be a more pristine, a more carefully preserved primitive form of *Nāṭya*, and is nearer to the ancient Indian classic temple-dancing as it was known 700 years or more ago. Orissan dance-figures occur in the temple sculptures and they resemble the Odisi poses. Dr. Anand says that "the Classical Dance Art of Orissa is one more manifestation among our Classical Dances, of a tree which grew in the eastern region, put on many fresh leaves, decayed and blossomed again, almost to collapse with the ill wind that blew, but which is now resurgent with new shoots upon its tender branches."

Orissa, it must be said to her credit, has kept up although in a thin stream this great heritage of hers. There are traditional exponents of this dance like Pankaja-charana Dāsa and Deva-prasāda Dāsa who are helping to revive it. An investigator like Dhirendranāth Pattanayaka has published a full monograph on it in the form of a book in Oriya with many illustrations based on the palm-leaf Ms. pictures as in the unique copy of the *Abhinaya-Chandrika*, a 17th century Sanskrit work on Orissan Dance composed by Maheswara Mahapatra in the 8th regnal year of Gajapati Narayana-deva of Parlakimedi, preserved in Puri and now being edited by

Plate—VII



Orissan Folk-dance—Kela-Keluni

Pandit Sadasiva Ratha from the Raghunath Library of Puri. The great respect which used to be shown to this style of temple dance in mediaeval and ancient Orissa can be seen from the fact that Rūpambika or Padmāvatı, the South Indian princess who became the queen of king Purushottamadeva (last quarter of the 15th century), took pride in enlisting herself to the service of the temple at Puri as a *Mahari* or Deva-dasi. or a Temple Dancer. Another Sanskrit work on Orissan Dance, the *Nṛtya-Manoramā* by Raghunatha Ratha composed early in the 18th century, has been found and edited by Sri Gauri Kumar Brahma, from the Orissa Sahitya Academy in 1959.

Considerable light on the music and dance of Orissa has been thrown by the researches of Sri Kavichandra Kalicharana Pattanayaka who has sought to establish that the Orissan styles of music and dance form an independent tradition, with its own place beside other living traditions like the *Bharata-nāṭya*, the *Kathākali*, the *Kuchipuḍi* the *Kathak* and the *Manipuri*. In all these ways this heritage of ancient India which was all but lost is being revived once again in Orissa.

Orissa's Resistance to Foreign Aggression

It has always been a characteristic of her ancient and mediaeval history from the time of Asoka onwards that Orissa has time and again given stubbon resistance whenever she was invaded from outside. Her great glory was in acting as a bulwark, like the Vijayanagara Empire further to the South in the Deccan, to Muslim invasion and aggression from the North, generally through Turki and Pathan invasions from Bengal. The Muslim rulers of Bengal made futile attempts to conquer what they called *Jājpur* or Orissa, and Orissa resisted to the last, being conquered only as late as 1567; and after that she became a part of the Mogul empire, after the conquest of Eastern India by the forces of Akbar the Great under the Rajput general of Akbar, Raja Man Singh of Ambar. From that time, till the middle of the 18th Century, she had internal peace under the aegis of a *Pax Mogulica* which had brought order and stable government to the greater

part of North India. But Orissan chiefs in the hill areas virtually maintained their independence all through. All this certainly redounds to the glory of Orissa.

The Oriya Character

The great qualities of the Orissan people are no less manifest in peace than in war. The Oriya character is essentially that of an industrious and peace-loving people, whose spirit has been attuned to the innate gentleness and patience, as well as attitude of acceptance on the spiritual plane of all approaches to the Unseen, which form such a fundamental thing in Hindu culture. This has been a great elevating and a civilising force in the formation of the "national personality" of Oriya people as much as in other parts of Hindudom, and this has enabled the Orissans to be firm without blatant aggressiveness, and gentle and kindly and well-disposed towards all ; and this certainly is a great virtue in the world of man. There are some other fine traits of Oriya character which would at once strike an outside observer—simplicity with inventiveness, adaptability and accommodation, and a general friendliness for all. In a word, the mental atmosphere and outward behaviour is that of the Vaishnava faith at its best.

ORISSA IN THE PAN-INDIAN SET-UP

The all-round contribution of the Oriya people to the development of India, both in culture and in economy, has been quite considerable. In ancient times, the maritime enterprise of the people of Orissa, along with that of the people of Bengal and of Andhra, took some of the most characteristic things of Indian civilisation and culture to Indo-China (Burma, Cambodia and Siam), and also to distant Indonesia. This connexion was established through Orissan merchants and sailors, as also through the merchants and sailors from Bengal and from Andhra. In both Bengal and Orissa they had the same word to mean a sea-going ship, *buhita* or *bohita*, which is from the Sanskrit *vahitra*. *Buhitas* from Eastern India were sea-going crafts with out-riggers such as we find depicted in that well-known

frieze from Boro-Budur in Java. The stream of Oriya settlement in the lands of Indo-China appears to have been stopped after the advent of the Turks, and this also acted in the same deterrent way in other parts of India. But Orissa maintained during the rule of the Karas (8th – 10th cen. A.D.) connexions with China, and we have the account of a Buddhist scholar from Orissa who went to China in the year 900 A.D. (?). In the Konarak sculptures we have a figure of a giraffe, which was evidently brought in as a great curiosity to India and offered to the King of Orissa by Arab merchants, particularly from South Arabia who had business connexions from times before the Prophet Muhammad with South India and Eastern India. Chittagong as an important port in Eastern India had its Arab merchants as a settled community, and it is exceedingly likely that Orissa also shared in these international connexions, which were faintly maintained even after the loss of freedom by Hindu India. After the establishment of a *Pax Britannica* in Burma and other countries of South-Eastern Asia, along with the Telugus and Tamilians and people from North India—Bihar and the U. P. and the Panjab, Oriya people of humbler ranks went to Burma and Malaya as agricultural labourers, and many of them made these places their homes. But after the recent Burmese policy of driving out all Indians, all these ancient contacts have become disorganised. Within India, the Oriya people in their attempt to spread out for economic reasons established themselves over the greater part of Bengal and even in Assam, and a good number also found their way in other parts of India including Maharashtra—although the Oriya settlement has been in driblets. Oriya labour had its great contribution in the development of a great town like Calcutta.

But all this was due to the economic pressure of the modern times on the Oriya people. Their great qualities which have been dormant for the last few centuries are once again manifesting themselves. At one time, the Oriyas had built up a great empire which spread from the lower reaches of the Bhagirathi river right down to the frontiers of the Tamil

country in South India, and in Central India it extended over considerable parts of what is now Madhya Pradesh. But what is still more important, and valuable for India, was that like the Vijayanagara empire founded jointly by the Telugus and the Kannadigas in 1336 A.D., the Ganga empire, and its subsequent developments in Orissa, gave stubborn and effective resistance for some centuries to the spread of Islamic power by the Turks and North Indian Muslims towards Orissa and South India, as much as the Hindu Ahom state in Assam and North Bengal, and the Koch and Tipra states of Hindu Bodo tribes in both North Bengal and East Bengal checked Turki and Bengal Muslim as well as Mogul aggression and extension of Muslim power in North-Eastern India.

The powerful military organisation of the Orissa people, with its basis of economic solidarity and its innate spirit of nationalism was for some centuries a thorn on the side of the Moslem state in Bengal, and for years the Orissa kings repeated the feat performed by Khāravēla—as a sort of *Aśvamēdha* for Indian rulers of the Kali age. They used to bring their armies and march with beat of drums into the enemey's Country (as the Rajputs boasted in the 14th century when they entered Delhi in main force—*ḍhollā māria Ḍhilli-maha caliyo Bīra Hammīra*—"the hero Hamīr marched into Delhi beating his drums") and would make their war-elephants drink from the waters of the Ganges at Triveni near Hooghly (*Māgadhanaṁ ca vipulaṁ bhayaṁ jane(n)to hathisu Gaṅgāya pāyayati*—"engendering a terrible fear among the Magadhan people he made his elephants drink from the Ganges", as Khāravēla's inscription says in the 2nd century B.C.). It was from the internal disorders in Orissa, and through the instinct of self-preservation from the expanding Mogul empire under Akbar, that the Pathan rulers of Bengal made (traditionally, under their general the renegade Brahmana, Kālā Pahāṛ, who had developed a violent antipathy towards his own people) a final attack against a weakened Orissa, and conquered the country in 1565, round about the time when the disastrous battle of Talikota, in which the five Muslim states of the Deccan fought a combined battle against

the Hindu empire of Vijayanagara, and brought about the utter destruction of the last great Hindu empire in India before the revival of a Hindu state under Śivājī and the Peshwas. It was just three years before the overthrow of Orissa by the forces of the Pathan Sultan of Bengal in 1569.

The Orissa empire in its great days, *vis-à-vis* the Muslim states of Bengal and Bihar and Jaunpur, was a haven of refuge for the Hindu people of Bengal. It was also (Like Mithila, which somehow retained its internal control right down to the Mogul period) a centre of Sanskrit learning and Hindu culture, and during this time Puri became completely integrated with Bengali Hindu culture and religious life, as much as Varanasi. As said before, Chaitanya virtually found an asylum in Puri under king Pratāparudra, so that he might carry on his work as a devotee and a religious teacher in peace. Orissa on the one hand, and far away in the North-East Assam on the other, became the repositories of Hindu culture and religion, with much greater conservation of the ancient Hindu world in Orissa which was strengthened by its association or contant with the Telugu states in the south.

This empire of course does not exist any more, but the Orissa country is now awake in seeking to bring about an industrial revolution, signs of which are apparent everywhere. The peace and harmony with which the present state of Orissa is carryng on its affairs, without any hitch with her neighbours in Madhya Pradesh, in Andhra, in Bengal and in Bihar, is a sufficient testimony of the working of the principle of peaceful co-existence which forms one of the great messages of India in world politics. With all her high traditions of civilisation and culture, her pre-eminence in the arts and crafts, and in the art of peaceful living, Orissa as a state possesses the fundamentals of a civilised and cultured life, and fully upholds the great traditions of India.
